

Pedagogic Discourse, Its Contexts and  
Modernization in China: A Case Study of *Jiaoyu*  
*Yanjiu* (1978- 1993)

by

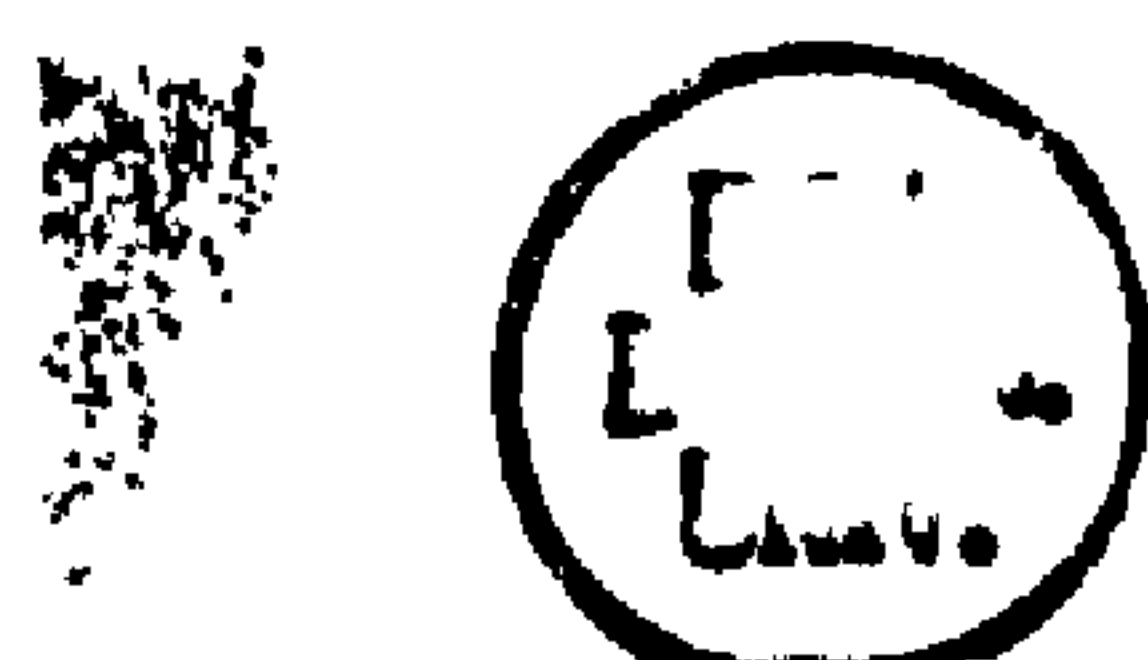
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degree of

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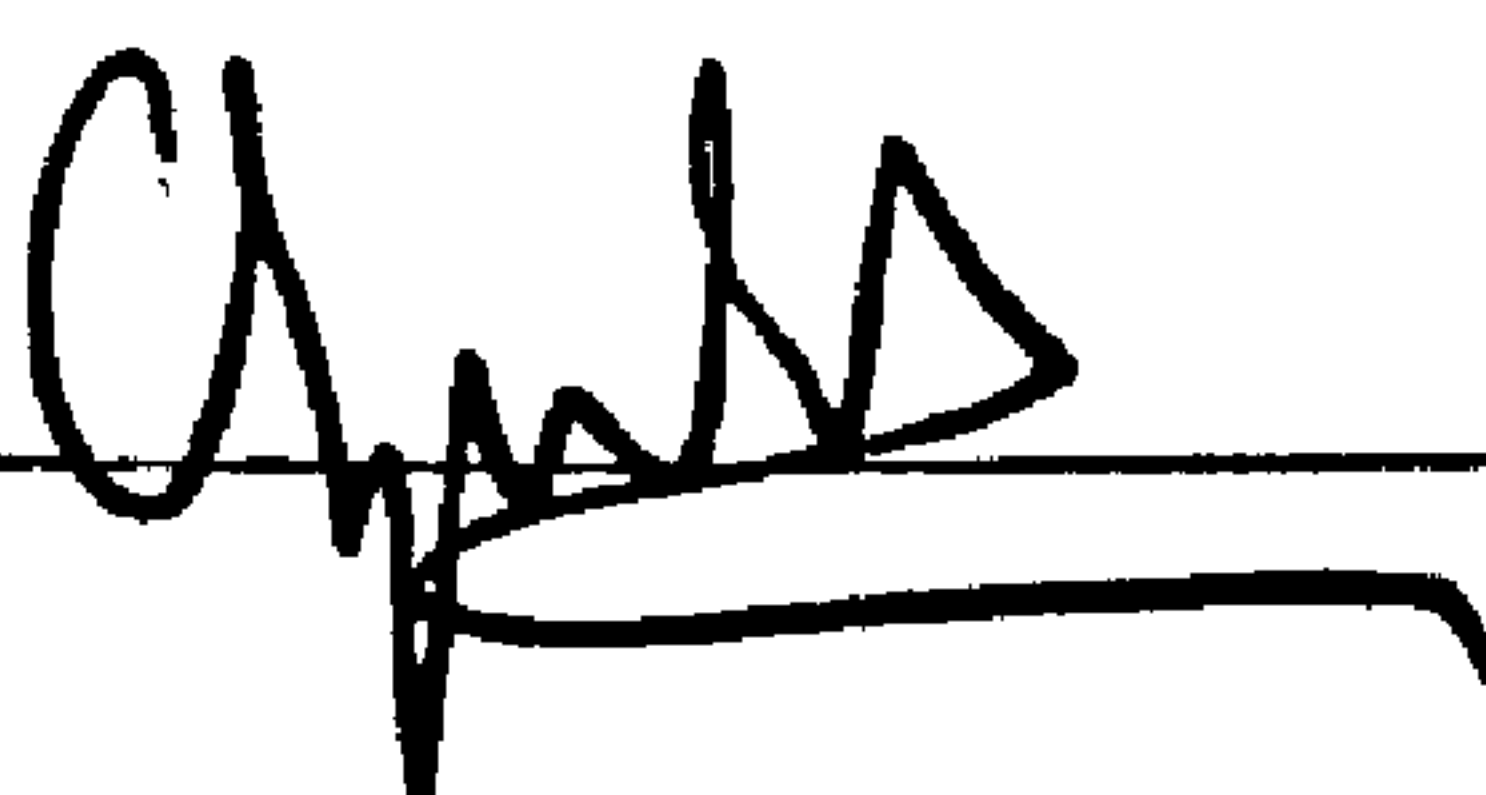


## ABSTRACT

Based on the theory of pedagogic discourse developed by Bernstein, this thesis proposes a framework to analyse the relationship between the production of intellectual discourse and the Chinese State. The framework is developed on the basis of the theory of the pedagogic device developed by Bernstein and a comparison of the theoretical approaches adopted by Bernstein, Bourdieu and Foucault. The thesis then identifies three different dominant ideological positions in China between 1949 and 1993. They are, namely, traditional collectivism (before the Cultural Revolution), radical collectivism (during the Cultural Revolution) and regulated individualism (after the Cultural Revolution). The empirical work is a study of the most important education journal, *Jiaoyu Yanjiu (Educational Research)* published by the Central Institute of Educational Research. The journal was created in 1978 by the Institute to support the new education reform initiated as part of the Post Cultural Revolution reform in China. Two major empirical studies are conducted. The first analysis is on the editorials published by the journal. The second analysis is on the papers published by the journal on moral education. Essentially, the paper argues that the reform policy in China introduced by the Chinese Government in 1978 had necessitated a fundamental shift in what constituted the core elements of the dominant ideological positions of the State. This involves certain elements of autonomy introduced to the intellectual field. But the exercise of the newly granted freedom is conditional. This fundamental shift led to a shift in the modality of controlling the intellectual field exercised by the State and has an effect upon the ways in which educational theories are produced and reported in the journal.

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work and that it has not been previously submitted to this University or any other institution in application for admission to a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Cheung Kwok Wah', is written over a horizontal line.

CHEUNG, Kwok Wah,

Oct, 2000



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I would like to offer my most sincere thank to the late Professor Basil Bernstein for his unfailing support in this research project. Professor Bernstein's intellectual creativity and his passion for sociological enquiry has not only benefited myself in this research but also taught me how to treat this research project as the beginning of an intellectual life. It has been my privilege to study under his supervision. It is most regrettable that towards the very end of completing the thesis, Professor Bernstein is not with us anymore and is unable to receive the very final version of this thesis himself. However, I would never forget the excitement generated from our discussion of this research and indeed on almost any topic that we discussed.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

### 1.0 Introduction

It is rather common for a thesis to start by introducing the intellectual contexts of the problematic dealt with in the thesis. However, I think it would be more appropriate for this chapter to start by giving an account of the genesis of this research project, followed by a discussion on the relevant issues and an explanation of the structure of this thesis.

The research presented in this thesis is an extension of the research carried out for my M.Ed. dissertation in 1987. I was attracted to Bernstein's theories when I was reading for my MA in London. Knowing that the ultimate destiny of Hong Kong was to return to the Chinese motherland in 1997, my Hong Kong Chinese background naturally led me to choose a Chinese topic for my own MA dissertation. To me, who went through the final years of student movement in the late 70's in Hong Kong, and was at that time living in a community anticipating the changeover of

sovereignty, I would like to understand the logic of Chinese modernisation. Initially, I thought that the starting point to understand the Chinese Modernisation project was the Cultural Revolution. At that time, the discussions about the Cultural Revolution, especially those from the Mainland China, were still very much on complaining about the atrocities during the Cultural Revolution. There were many fewer attempts to understand and analyse the nature of the social experiences which millions of Chinese people were put through. However, when I came across Bernstein's discussion on integration code and relations between production and education, I almost knew at once that the Cultural Revolution constituted an interesting empirical context for the discussion of those experiences. Bernstein's occasional reference to the Chinese case in his papers (Bernstein, 1975:188) also gave me the confidence that there would be a piece of sociological news.

Preparing my MA dissertation was an interesting and exciting experience. The theories developed by Bernstein offered me a method to understand more about the nature of the Cultural Revolution at a deeper level. In return, I understood more about

the analytical power of the theories developed by Bernstein. After finishing the MA dissertation, I had a chance to continue the research from where I stopped in my MA dissertation. I took up this chance without any hesitation.

This research was started at around April 89, just before the May and June student movement in Beijing. Originally the research plan was to describe and analyse the new logic of development through fieldwork in places with different paces of development in China. But the crackdown of the democratic movement on June 4<sup>th</sup> had led us to conclude that it was almost impossible to obtain reliable information through fieldwork in China. At one point, we even considered whether or not the China Communist Party would just shelve the modernisation project. But then very soon we thought that probably this would not be the case because the only alternative model of development at that time was the Cultural Revolution model, or, using the concept we developed in this thesis, radical collectivism. However, as I will explain in greater detail in Chapter Three, the Chinese modernisation project was launched on a clear consensus that



radical collectivism is not the way to achieve Chinese modernisation. Once when we decided that the Chinese modernisation project had no tuning point, our next issue was to find a “safe” way to research the modernisation logic. With hindsight, it should not have been too difficult for us to predict the continuation of the modernisation project. But at that time, it was really difficult for my mind to convince my heart that this had to be the case.

We then turned our attention to the issue of the production of intellectual discourse in the Post-Cultural Revolution Reform. Specifically, in this research, we shall examine the “growth” of the most important educational journal in China. The journal, entitled as *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, is an official publication from the Central Institute for Educational Research, the think tank of the Ministry of Education. The journal was created by the Institute when China decided to abandon the Cultural Revolution project in 1978. From the journal, we have chosen a very important domain, namely moral education, to be our focus of research. Papers published by the journal on moral education between 1978 and

1993 will be analysed in greater detail. We intend to understand the relationship between the authors and the editors, the ideological and pedagogic content of the papers and the ways in which they are related to the ideological debates in the wider society.

There are several reasons for choosing the production of discourse as the entry point to discuss Chinese modernisation.

First, the issue of relations between the State and intellectuals has always been an important topic in the study of intellectual lives. However, most studies placed the emphasis on the intellectuals as agents to fight for a more democratic and popular participatory political order. These studies focus on the ways in which intellectuals participate in what the West would call civil rights campaigns. Thus in this type of research, they became political actors, rather than academic actors. Academic texts are studied as instruments for political practice and not academic practice. A typical discussion was made by Hua. Hua

discussed the careers of three intellectuals: Wang Ruoshui [1], Yan Jiaqi [2] and He Xin [3]. He is more interested in the intellectuals' political practice in advising the Government but the intellectual discourses themselves were not a subject of analysis (Hua, 1994). The studies made by Goldman (Goldman, 1994, 1996) focus on more intellectuals and are based on a more elaborated framework between the State and society but still the discourses produced by the intellectuals are not studied. In this study, the discourses produced by intellectuals working in the field of moral education are to be analysed in terms of their historical and social contexts.

Second, the discourse that we are going to examine is derived from papers that were published in the most important educational journal published in China between 1978 and 1993.

- 
- 1 Wang Ruoshui was a former deputy editor of China's Party newspaper *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily).
  - 2 Yan Jiaqi was a former director of the Political Science Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and was a key adviser of Zhao Ziyang, the Chinese Premier who was purged by the Chinese Communist Party after June, 89.
  - 3 He Xin is now an investigator-researcher-professor with the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), a formal consultative committee to the Chinese Communist Party. He was reportedly a key defender of the "hardliners" after the 1989 Tiananmen incident.



Hence, no matter what happened to China, bearing in mind that the decision about research methods had to be taken between 1990 and 1991, we can still analyse these papers. This has in turn created certain methodological problems for us. We shall return to this issue in later chapters of this thesis.

In the next section, we shall give a short review of the nature of educational reform during the Cultural Revolution. This is an important starting point for our research as reform in the Post-Cultural Revolution was initiated on the basis of rejecting the Cultural Revolution project. Thus, the crucial dilemma for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was whether the new reform should go “backwards” (i.e. back to the pre-Cultural Revolution era) or “forward”, which has not been figured out clearly at the beginning of the reform. After this, we shall give an introduction to the chapters of this thesis.

## **1.1 Social and Political Reforms during the Cultural Revolution**

As argued in my own MA dissertation, the Cultural Revolution was initiated by Mao to mobilise the mass to combat

bourgeois revisionism. In the eyes of Mao, inherent in the wave of rising bourgeois revisionism before the Cultural Revolution was a powerful sector of the Chinese society, mainly composed of the Chinese Communist Party members, which had become a political instrument to appropriate the social division of labour. For Mao, the growing complex division of labour was transforming into a dominant and dominated social network of relationship accompanied by the revival of inequality. That was considered incompatible with the goals of socialist revolution which were institutionalised by the Chinese State in 1949.

We consider that the fundamental nature of the conflicts, contradictions and dilemmas before and during the Cultural Revolution were in fact conflicts of the nature of social division of labour inherent in the two different development strategies advocated by different factions of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) (Cheung, 1987). Using the theories developed by Bernstein, we may classify Mao's opponent Lao's development strategy as +C +F in the field of economic division of labour with +C +F in the field of symbolic control with a strong classification between

the two fields, thus presupposing the existence of relative autonomy between them. Mao's alternative developmental strategy developed during the Cultural Revolution was -C -F in the field of economic division of labour with -C -F in the field of symbolic control. This had the consequence of the total elimination of the relative autonomy of the field of education.

Hence, the mass-scale reconstruction was attempted through a fundamental change of distribution of power and principles of control in the wider society. There was an attempt to eliminate the relative autonomy of education so that socialisation was planned to take place on the shop-floor, instead at the school site.

Mao argued that the only way to increase productivity in China was to let people acquire the proletariat ideology through social reorganisation. We are suggesting that he was wrong. A simple division of labour is unlikely to result in raising the material level of the society (Cheung, 1987).



It was not until the death of Mao and the subsequent arrest of the Gang of Four that China was in a position to rethink its strategy to achieve the Modernisation target. The social choice that was made by the Chinese Government was to raise the material level of the country rather than to preserve the socialist ideology, leading to the consequence of abandoning the Cultural Revolution project. However, if we take closer look at the changes within the social division of labour, it is possible for us to suggest that a “new” cultural revolution was emerging.

Basically there has been a transformation within the society in which a complex division of labour is rapidly replacing the simple division of labour established during the Cultural Revolution. The rate of this transformation process has not been the same throughout the country but the change was in place. China is so large that the unequal distribution of natural resources in different parts of the country gave different parts different types of opportunity in the Modernisation project. Differences between different regions had become even greater as there is also a tendency of decentralisation of policy making within the

complicated power structure. In other words there is a growing tendency for local polities to become relatively more autonomous.

During the Cultural Revolution, Mao regarded China as a collection of Communes, each as a self-sufficient economic production unit. Basically this is an agrarian model of development. However, the Post Cultural Revolution project was based on a developmental strategy to introduce the market system alongside the central planning system. In doing so, a transformation of the system of simple division of labour that was brought about during the Cultural Revolution into a complex division of labour was involved. In fact, among the first moves that bore the mark of the Modernisation programmes was to abolish the system of communes. The new development strategy led to the emergence of the need for communication, transport, co-operation between different parts of the country and even between the country and other foreign countries. This transformation from simple division of labour to complex division of labour led China to redevelop its social, economic political and even foreign strategy.

## 1.2 Educational Reform during and after the End of the Cultural Revolution

Traditional Chinese thought attaches great importance to education. Just as Mao initiated the Cultural Revolution by reforms in organisation, content and methods of teaching and assessment in education, the post-Mao era in China was also marked by radical changes in the arena of education.

In the following, we shall outline what we see as the major features of the attempted educational reform during the Cultural Revolution. A detailed analysis will be provided in Chapter Three.

The fundamental change that was brought about during the Cultural Revolution was the fusion of the fields of production and symbolic control, thereby eliminating the relative autonomy of education. Education was made “equivalent” to production. Using the words developed by Bernstein, the production, and generation principle of production is the same as the production and generation principle of education. The school as the agent for the realisation of education was terminated (Bernstein, 1975:190-



193). Attempts were made to make teachers cease to exist as a specialised social category. The word “teacher” survived only as a lexical item. As a result, teachers were expected to be agencies of production and not agencies of educational transmission. They should be factory workers in the urban areas, or farmers in the rural areas. Even the classification between the teachers and the students was also weakened. Moreover, as the classification between school and production units was weakened, there were demands that schools should have their own production units while production units should have their own schools.

Although socialisation into the socialist value system now did not take place in schools any more, the fusion of both fields of education and symbolic control should not be read as the “elimination” of the field of symbolic control hence the disappearance of “education”. The fusion in fact meant the “politicisation” of production. As revealed by the slogan “politics takes command of everything”, the reform of the structure of production during the Cultural Revolution did not aim at raising the material level of the country, but at reorganising the relations

of production along the lines of Maoist thought. We therefore suggested that the field of production was “dissolved” into the field of symbolic control during the Cultural Revolution, rather than that the field of symbolic control was dissolved by the field of production and therefore vanished.

Reforms after the Cultural Revolution in fact meant the regeneration of the field of production from the field of symbolic control. Production had to be depoliticised and then repoliticised with new forms of social relationship. It is thus of interest to examine the nature of relations between the new and old forms of social relationship.

The growing differentiation of the field of production from the field of symbolic control presupposed the emergence of relative autonomy within each field. Education thus was given a new social meaning in this new era. But as will be argued in this thesis, education itself has been in an ambivalent field relationship with others.

During the Cultural Revolution, the elimination of the relative autonomy of education created by a fusion of the field of production with the field of symbolic control in fact meant the “politicisation” of education. Educational theories were made almost the equivalent of political theories. After the Cultural Revolution, the regeneration of the field of education was established through the regeneration of the official pedagogic discourse. This regeneration was not only about the regeneration of official pedagogic recontextualising field, but also the development of the recontextualising field. In other words, educational reform after the Cultural Revolution necessitates regeneration of educational theories.

This raises important issues concerning the official regulation of the production of education theories in the new social and political contexts. Thus the new “mode of production” has accorded new roles for academics but this new role can also become new sources of conflicts and challenges for the State. This is the core issue that we are going to tackle in this thesis.



### 1.3 Structure of the Thesis

In Chapter one, the nature and context of the research problem will be identified and explained.

Chapter two is concerned with introducing the theoretical framework that informs this research. We shall discuss the works of Bourdieu, Foucault and Bernstein and situate the position of this thesis in the traditions worked out by these theoreticians. The research problem will also be introduced in this chapter, together with a discussion of the methodological problem about this research.

Chapter three outlines major political and ideological issues entailed in the Post-Cultural Revolution reform. Emphasis will be made to the ideological battles in the wider society between 1949 and 1993. We shall also identify various dominant ideological positions established and maintained in China by the Party during this period. Furthermore, we shall examine the ways in which various ideological positions gave rise to different forms of education during this period.

Chapter four introduces methodological issues in this research. It starts with a description about the institutional context of the journal, *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. The chapter then goes on to explain the reasons for choosing moral education in this research, which will be followed by a discussion of methodological issues in this research.

Chapter five explains the roles of the editorial board in the regulation of the production of discourse in the journal. The study presented in this chapter will be based on an in-depth analysis of the editorials published by the journal

Chapter six presents a description of the general development of the discourse on moral education by analysing the authors' institutional affiliation and sources of citation in all the papers published between 1978 and 1993.

Chapter seven examines the development of the moral education discourse as realised in the papers will be identified, discussed and analysed in the context of the ideological debates in

the wider society. They will also be related to the regulation exerted by the editors.

Chapter eight is the conclusion of this thesis.



## CHAPTER TWO

### The Production of Discourse, Its Intellectual and Political Contexts: Bernstein, Bourdieu and Foucault

#### 2.0 Introduction

As suggested in the last chapter, what guides the study of the emerging discourse of education is the theory of pedagogic device developed by Bernstein (Bernstein, 1986, 1990, 1996). We have also explained that it is perhaps unusual to start the thesis by introducing the theoretical framework underlying the research. However, in this thesis we consider it is important to develop the theoretical language to help us to understand the ideological shifts in contemporary China and their social consequences against which discourses on education take shape. This theoretical language helps us to generate a method for identifying, describing and analysing the issues we consider crucial to in our research project. In this chapter, we shall prepare our enquiry by examining in details the theory of the pedagogic device and we will discuss other attempts to construct theories of symbolic

control notably by Bourdieu and Foucault. We shall examine the intellectual contexts of these theories, the assumption that underpin the construction of the theories and how they have guided other studies of what may broadly be called the issue of symbolic control. Towards the end of this chapter, we shall discuss why we consider the theory of the pedagogic device more helpful in guiding this study. Then in the next chapter, we shall explain the development of the ideological and political contexts in China after the Cultural Revolution, which informs the emerging discourse of education.

## **2.1 Field and Habitus: The works of Bourdieu**

Our discussion of the concepts that underpin this research starts with Bourdieu, mainly because the discussion of what will be presented as our research findings is based upon the concept of field. It is clear that the concept is developed initially by Bourdieu. However, in this research, the concept of field is used in a way very different from that is used in the social analysis developed by Bourdieu. Indeed, as will be discussed in the following, we consider that it is necessary for us to distinguish the use of the

concept of field by Bourdieu and in this study.

The work of Bourdieu represents attempts to transcend what he regards as a false distinction between “objectivism” and “subjectivism”. He argues that social actions and practices cannot be reduced to “material conditions of existence”. They are more than the feelings, opinions and beliefs of individuals. According to Brubaker, Bourdieu criticises objectivism for its failure to recognise that “individuals have in and of social reality and the conceptions they form about it [the social reality] are partly constitutive of that reality”. Bourdieu then turned to criticise subjectivism for its failure to take into consideration of the external and material constraints that are imposed upon an individual participating in any social reality (Brubaker, 1985).

For Bourdieu, the way to go beyond the false choice between objectivism and subjectivism is to “move beyond objectivism without relapsing into subjectivism”. In other words, it is to “break with immediate experience while at the same time doing justice into the practical character of social life” (Thompson,



1991: 12). It is in this connection that Bourdieu proposes his concepts of field, habitus and capital to identify, discuss, explain and analyse the social practices that are conditioned and constrained by social objectivity and yet are able to be embedded in human experiences.

From the comprehensive booklists prepared by Wacquant (1992), the notion of field was probably first introduced to the English-speaking world of sociology via the publication of *Knowledge and Control* (Young, 1971) [4]. At that time, the discussion focused on the intellectual field's role in the creation of meaning. Nonetheless, essential features of the field were already identified. The concept of field was later applied to other areas such as the scientific and cultural fields (Bourdieu, 1975). A more elaborated discussion was made by Bourdieu in 1977 and 1985 (Bourdieu, 1977, 1983, 1985). For the purpose of this study, we are going to abstract and discuss two major features of the field.

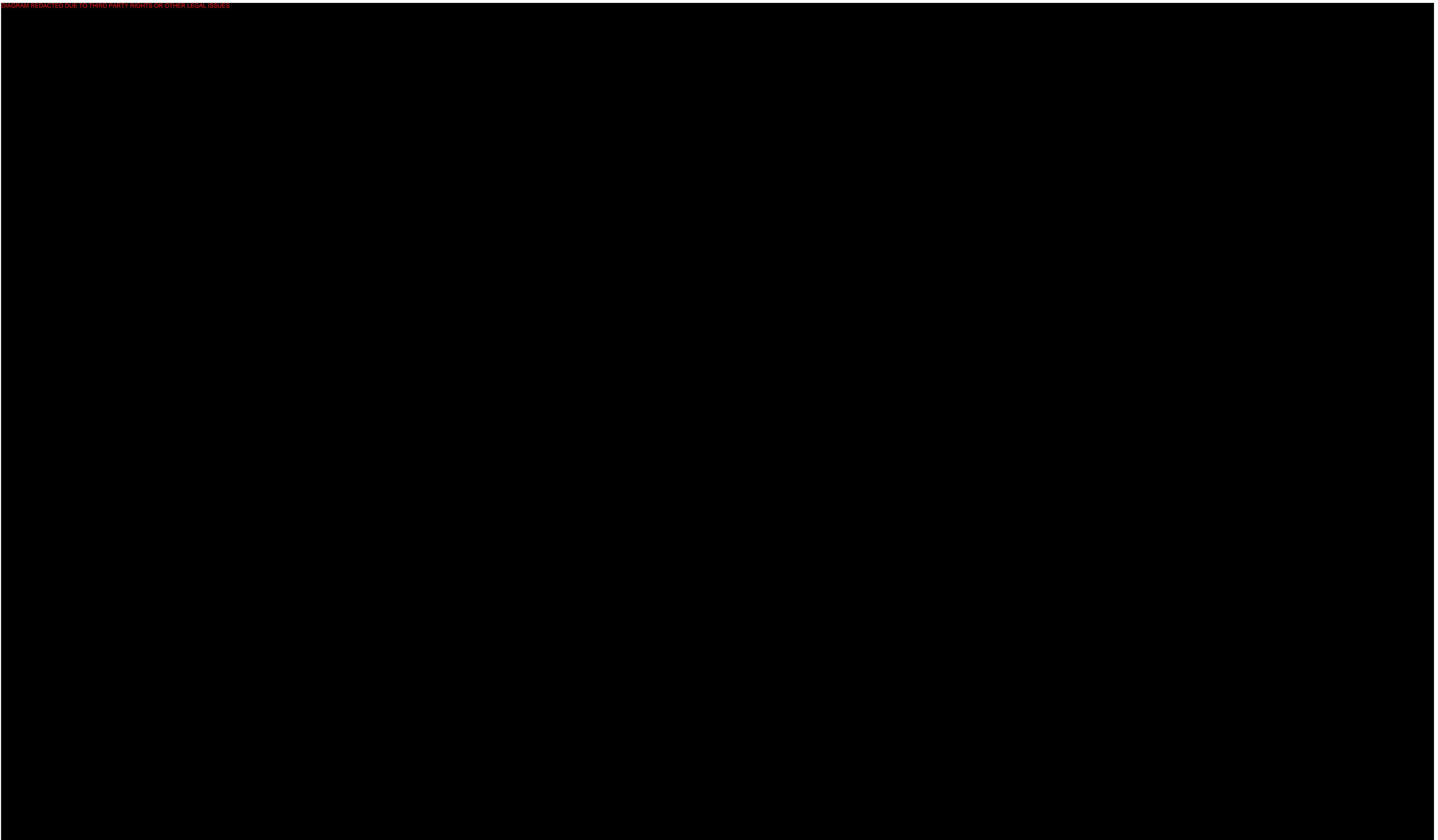
The first is about the relative autonomy of the intellectual

field. Bourdieu states that,

“the intellectual field possess the relative autonomy which authorises the *methodological autonomization* operated by the structural method when it treats the intellectual field as a system which is governed by its own law.” (Bourdieu, 1971:162, italics original)

This is a crucial condition for the intellectual field and indeed all other fields to exist as separate fields. As Bourdieu added later, more advanced society is characterised by a number of “such relatively autonomous social microcosms, i.e. spaces of objective relations that are the site of a logic and a necessity that are specific and irreducible to those that regulate other fields” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:97-98). (Figure 2.1)

Figure 2.1 The Relationship Between the Field of Power and the Intellectual Field in the Tradition of the Theory of Field Constructed by Bourdieu



Source: adapted from Bourdieu, 1992:38

$P_1 - P_4$  : positions within the field

+

 : poles at dominant positions within the field

-

 : poles at dominated positions within the field

What happens if a field is still in its pre-existing form, when it is not yet a field? In the long conversation with Wacquant (1992), Bourdieu does acknowledge that the development of a society does not necessarily follow a route of ever differentiating fields. He uses an example about the patronage of the direct dependency of the artists on the state to illustrate the possibility (Bourdieu and



Wacquant, 1992:109-110). Nonetheless, most of Bourdieu's writings are about how a field is constituted and functions as an autonomous and independent field.

From this conceptual framework, it seems to us that there are not any provisions to consider a situation when social practices are based upon the inter-relation between two fields. To put the problematic more specifically, as we shall discuss in the next chapter, the issue we shall be examining is that intellectual activities after the Cultural Revolution were regulated not only from within the intellectual field but also by the State. Can we address the issue of the production of discourse in the Chinese intellectual field in the theoretical tradition established by Bourdieu? In Bourdieu's writings, he does distinguish two situations in which the interaction between a field and its variants are involved. The first situation happens when there is a sub-field within the field. For example, a distinction is made by Bourdieu about the sub-field of novel or theatre and the field of literary production. Even so, Bourdieu maintains that each sub-field or field "has its own logic, rules and regularities" (Bourdieu and

Wacquant, 1992:104). The second situation arises when a field becomes an apparatus under certain historical conditions. A field will be transformed into an apparatus when the dominating is totally dominating the dominated in such a way that the resistance to domination is totally crushed. Examples given include asylums and prisons (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:102).

Other than this, to the best of our knowledge, there exists no discussion by Bourdieu or his associates that is concerned with the analysis of social reality on the basis of the relationship between two related but separable fields. It is as if Bourdieu is only interested in the relationship within a field but not between fields. However, our discussion about the emerging ideology of regulated individualism exercised in China has posed an interesting theoretical question for the approach taken by Bourdieu in the study of intellectual field. When compared to the study of intellectual life in France (Bourdieu, 1988) and Germany (Ringer, 1969), the Chinese context provides an interesting example, which cannot usefully be handled in the framework of analysis developed by Bourdieu. We shall examine this issue in

greater detail after we discuss the second central feature of the concept of field proposed by Bourdieu.

The second issue is about the internal mechanism of agents situated in the same field. For Bourdieu, a field is always about a configuration of agents related and interacting with one another in a way that is specific to the field concerned. Thus, analysing the dynamics in a field is always about analysing the dynamics between the agents of the fields in the context of their relationships. According to Bourdieu, different agents stand in a certain positional relationship to one another, which will determine how they function in the field. Moreover, individuals who are positioned in various locations of the field will be equipped with

“[a] collection of technique, references, and a set of ‘beliefs’, such as the propensity to give as much importance to the notes as to the text. These are properties that derive from the history (national or international) of the discipline and its (intermediate) position in the hierarchy of disciplines, and which are both the condition of the functioning of the field and the product of its functioning” (Bourdieu, 1993:72-73).



In addition, depending on the positions of agents, each agent will possess various types of capital (power) which the agent can “convert” into the appropriate type of capital for the continuous struggle within the field.

As suggested above, we are able to follow two attempts to analyse the intellectual fields in France (Bourdieu, 1988) and Germany (Ringer, 1969). In *Homo Academicus*, Bourdieu (1988) argues that intellectual activities could only be fully understood by relating to each other “the space of works or discourses taken as differential stances, and the space of the positions held by those who produce them” (Bourdieu, 1988:xvii). The basic assumption taken as the starting point in the analysis is that the intellectual field is an autonomous field and hence social forces outside the field will not be taken into consideration [5].

In the case of the study of German academics (1890-1930), Ringer maintains that studies about academic life could not only

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5      Interestingly, in the index pages of *Homo Academicus*, there are no entries like State or government, nor in *Academic Discourse* (Bourdieu, 1994). Perhaps this reflects the importance of intra-

be about tracing the history of ideas. Adopting Bourdieu's method, Ringer distinguishes two types of academics: an "orthodoxy" majority, which is "politically more conservative or even reactionary" and a "modernist" minority, which is "more progressive or even liberal" (Ringer, 1990:273).

In these two cases, struggles within the field are explained in terms of the inter-relationships among positions within the field. Thus, autonomy is a crucial factor in generating the relationship. However, development in China after the Cultural Revolution poses a problem for the Bourdieu analysis. The Post Cultural Revolution reform has given rise to a conditional social and economic space permitted but regulated by the State. Intellectuals are now given restrictive and conditional autonomy to become the producers of discourse. We shall also argue that, in the era of Post-Cultural Revolution, the control of the State over the production of discourse has shifted from that over the principles of the production of theories to the management of their production. To use the notions of Bourdieu, the Chinese State is not a player

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field approach in the analysis developed by Bourdieu.

but part of the game. The Chinese State allows the players (i.e. the intellectuals in the field of education working inside and outside political, academic and educational institutions) some space to play in their ways. However, when the game is out of control, the State will intervene and, as we have all witnessed in the last two decades, the State did intervene.

Therefore, the emerging intellectual field does not possess autonomy in the Western sense. However, it is equally wrong to suggest that the emerging intellectual field in China is a sub-field of the State, or to suggest that it is only an apparatus of the State. In a recent review, Calhoun suggests that Bourdieu “is unclear as to how historically and comparatively specific his conceptual frameworks and analytical strategies are meant to be” (Calhoun, 1993:65). We are arguing in this thesis that the Post Cultural Revolution reform provides a case which shows that the analysis developed by Bourdieu may not be as general as it claims to be.

Moreover, even in the discussion of the field originally developed by Bourdieu, it is possible for us to identify tensions



underlying the analysis informed by the concept of the field.

Consider the following situation.

The situation that we shall consider is the relationship between the State and education. The growing importance of the role of the State in the restructuring, functioning and evaluation of education has been well-documented (Ball, 1990, 1994; Dale, 1989; Green, 1990). Recently, Dale observes that

“while education remains a public issue, in common with other state activities its co-ordination has ceased to be (at least formally) the sole preserve of the state or government. Instead it has become co-ordinated through a range of forms of *governance*, among which decentralisation and privatisation figure prominently” (Dale, 1997:274).

In the framework developed by Bourdieu, education and the state are considered situated in the same field, and hence their positional (the dominating and dominated) relationships remain the same, but there is no conceptual means to talk about the move from control to governance as proposed by Dale.

Moreover, in the analysis proposed by Bourdieu, changes within the field always occur when newcomers are admitted into the field and depending on the habitus possessed by the new agents, various strategies are used to bring changes to the field. However, in the case of changes proposed by Dale, it is actually changes in the ways how education and changes of actors are regulated by the State that bring changes to the content and functions of education. The concept developed by Bourdieu has actually failed to sensitise researchers to the sources of change in contemporary education.

Indeed, we can push this logic further. For Bourdieu, the relational positions in the field are the “essence” of agents active in the field. They are so essential that in the analysis any discourses and texts produced and circulated within the field become secondary. Taking the case of *Homo Academicus* further, Bernstein suggests that

*“Homo Academicus* is not about the constitution of academic discourses, their systems of transmission, their formation of specialised consciousness, it is about power games and their strategies. What is exposed is the game. This necessarily follows from Bourdieu’s relational analysis of fields. There is no need to show how a *specific* should have a determinate content”  
(Bernstein, 1996:196-197)

In *Homo Academicus*, therefore, the discourse produced by the academics has never been a subject of analysis. Even when the notion of discourse is used in the analysis, it is for the purpose of description, rather than for analysis [6].

The problem of using Bourdieu’s concepts becomes more acute when we turn to the concept of habitus, albeit at the first glance, the concept of habitus looks attractive.

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6 In a footnote in his publication, *The State Nobility*, Bourdieu proposed that “discourse analysis, which is today often reduced to an analysis of texts, should take the form of methodical establishment of relations ... between the space of discursive stances and the space of the positions held by the producers and the recipients of the discourse” (Bourdieu, 1996:420 n55). However, he does not provide us with an example of how this can be done in the rest of the book.



According to Bourdieu, habitus is defined as “the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations” (quoted in Robbins, 1991:83). On another occasion, he mentions that habitus is “the site of the internalisation of reality and the externalisation of internality” (quoted in Jenkins, 1992:79). Jenkins thus summarised the functioning of habitus by suggesting that “objective conditions *produce* the habitus, the habitus is adjusted to objective conditions, and there is a *reciprocal* or *dialectical* relationship between them” (Italics original, Jenkins, *ibid.*).

Together with the notion of capital, Bourdieu has provided us with a powerful scheme of concepts from which we can draw the appropriate concepts to explain the complexity entailed in cultural reproduction without relapsing into a theory of economic determinism. Bourdieu also makes a distinction between various habituses so that it is possible for him to talk about struggles and conflicts that can be identified, discussed and analysed in various fields of the society. For example, he distinguishes between linguistic and political habitus when he wants to discuss the individual’s relation to the fields of language and politics. Thus language habitus refers to the process in which one’s objective

position in the social space is internalised and acts as the resource for one to form his/her own generative principles to produce a particular form of language in any social interaction (Bourdieu, 1991:81-89). On the other hand, the political habitus [7] refers to the acquisition of knowledge intrinsic and related to the field of politics and necessary skills for an actor to, in the words of Bourdieu, play the political game in the field of politics (Bourdieu, 1991:176). Thus, one would have imagined that it might be possible for us to talk about the intellectual habitus when one wants to discuss the nature of social activity in the intellectual field. Indeed, this could have been the case in *Homo Academicus*. Nonetheless the concept of intellectual habitus has never been used throughout the book (Bourdieu, 1988:149-150).

However, when one's project is to study the changing relationship between the State and intellectuals after the Cultural Revolution in China, one would encounter certain difficulties in using the notion of habitus and indeed the approach developed by

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7 Bourdieu also hinted at the existence of religious, artistic and scientific habitus in the discussion of political habitus (Bourdieu, 1991:176)

Bourdieu.

In the case of China, the Chinese fields of intellectuals and the State are not two separate fields. It is difficult to compare and analyse political and intellectual habitus at the same time, as from Bourdieu's point of view, habitus is intrinsic to the field. Thus the researcher would be forced to assign either intellectual or political habitus to intellectuals, who have been trying their best to claim their own intellectual space within the control selectively and conditionally exercised by the State in the Post-Cultural Revolution reform era. One is tempted to start the analysis by proposing a theory of Chinese habitus, but which may not be a theoretical possibility because to the best of our knowledge, in the works of Bourdieu, habitus has never been used in a geo-national context [8].

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8 It is a matter of interest for us to point out that even in studies by Bourdieu which are exclusively on the French society, e.g. *Distinction* (1979), *Homo Academics* (1984), *Academic Discourse* (1994), the notion of national habitus has never appeared in the theoretical language developed by Bourdieu. It is as if, according to the concept of habitus developed by Bourdieu, the social conditions of a culture can only be identified, discussed and analysed at a social but not a national level. Hence there has never been any discussion on French habitus. One may wonder



On the other hand, if we discuss the nature of intellectual activity as forms of political habitus, we are in the danger of reducing the analysis of intellectual activity to political struggles within the field of the State. From the point of view of this research, the conflicts between the intellectuals and the State are widely acknowledged. We shall discuss this point in greater detail in the next chapter. However, this is not the major concern in this research. Indeed, this has nothing to do with political habitus in the Bourdieu sense. In this project, we are more concerned with the conditions of and the actual production and development of the educational discourse by various agents in the field of education which are permitted by the State to stand alongside the political discourse on a conditional basis. Thus to suggest that it is a product of political habitus, again using the notion of game, is like shooting a wrong duck in the hunting game. On the other hand, it is misleading to suggest that it is a product of intellectual habitus because in doing so, we would assume that there is an

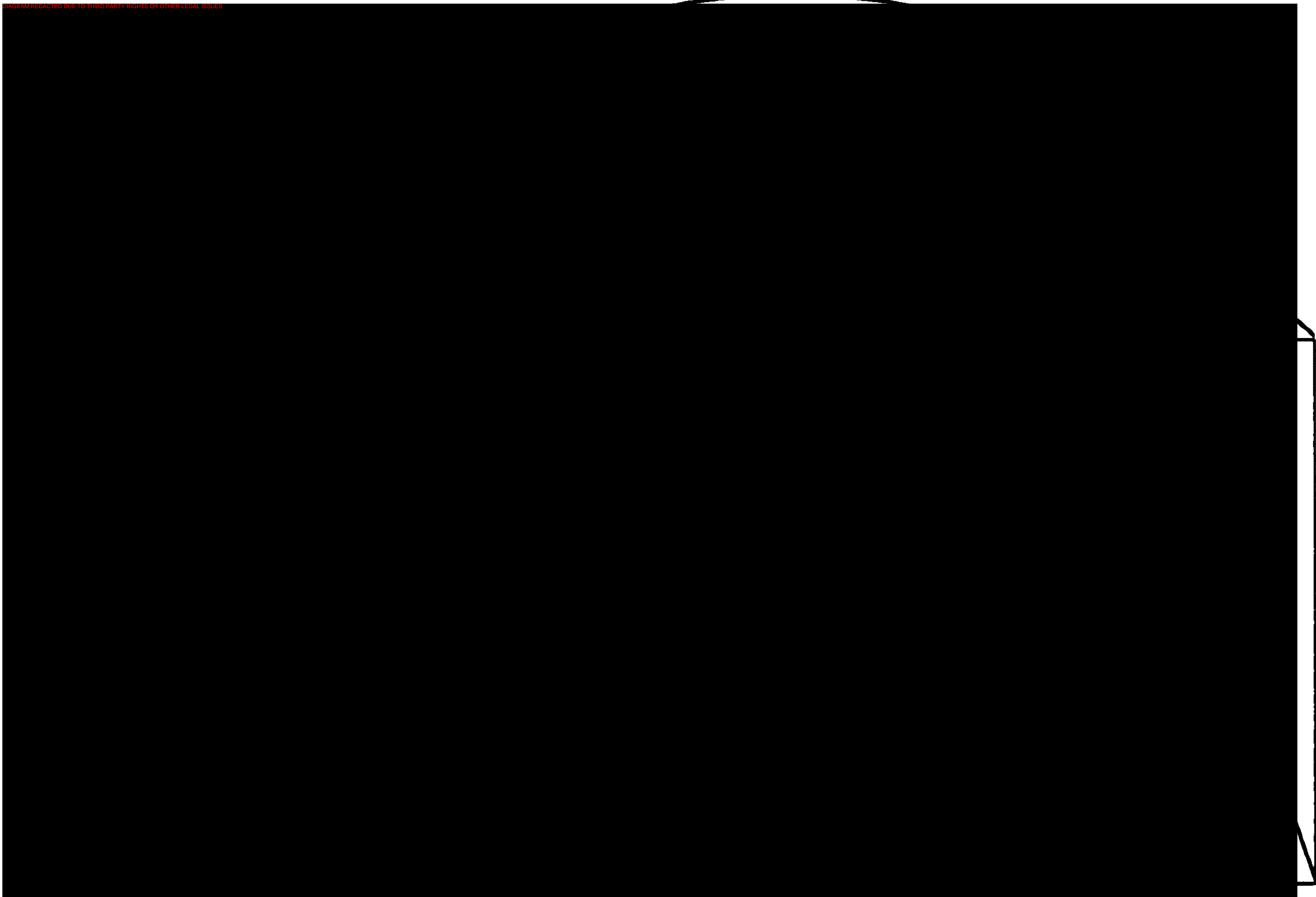
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whether this only reflects a matter of research interest or if the theoretical logic developed by Bourdieu allows one to talk about social practice at a national level.

intellectual field defined by its own conditions of existence. In China, this is not the case. Intellectual activities are still regulated by the State, but just in another form after the Cultural Revolution, which serves to give the intellectuals certain discursive space for the production of discourse.

Indeed, in the case of this research, we need a theory which allows us to identify, discuss and explain the conditions and consequences of the development of the educational discourse in the light of the shift in ideological positions within the State. To be more specific, we need a theory which allows us to discuss changes in the relationship between the field of power and the field of intellectuals, but not necessarily changes in the habitus of the two fields which result in changes in the production of discourses by various agents in the field of intellectuals (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2     The Relationship between the Field of Power and the Intellectual Field in the Context of the Post-Cultural Revolution Reform in China



source: reconstructed from Bourdieu, 1992:58  
P<sub>1</sub> - P<sub>5</sub>: positions in the field

From figure 2.2, we can see that the parameters of the intellectual fields ( $F_1$  and  $F_2$ ) are a function of the dynamics of the field of power. Dynamics within the field of power exerts impact on the intellectual field by defining and redefining the parameters of the intellectual field. In the case represented in figure 2, the shift between the two parameters of the intellectual fields  $F_1$  and  $F_2$  is a function of the dynamics of positions ( $P_1$  and  $P_2$ ) within the



field of power which, from the point of view of our analysis, is outside the intellectual field. At one time, a position ( $P_3$ ) may still be within the parameters of the intellectual field ( $F_1$ ) and therefore is inherently a legitimate position. However, at another time, when the intellectual field  $F_1$  is reduced to  $F_2$ , and consequently the parameters are reduced. Thus the same position now falls outside the parameters of the intellectual field and therefore becomes an illegitimate position.

It is out of these considerations that we have decided not to adopt the theories of Bourdieu in this research.

We shall now turn to a discussion of the works of Foucault and Bernstein to explain why we think their approaches may be more appropriate for our research.

## **2.2 From Field to Discourse: Foucault**

While Bourdieu is concerned in his analysis with the nature of struggles as a function of the differences and struggles of positions of agents in the same field, Foucault is more concerned

with the unity of what is to be produced by various agents in the same field, and across fields. This has led to his discussion of discourse. To be more specific, for Bourdieu, the field of power has both positive and negative poles, which denotes the dominant and dominated positions within the field, and which are essential to the understanding of how social relationship functions (Bourdieu, 1993:37-38). As observed by Jenkins, this model is “one in which power and authority flow from the top down” (Jenkins, 1992:90). Hence, power is exercised from one field position over another. Although resistance is possible in the form of struggle, it is only possible within dominance. However, for Foucault, there is something more fundamental about the nature of power, which is not just something that is acted upon the dominated by the dominant in any field of relationship. Foucault sees power as something that acts upon relationship and not just as an instrument of relationship between the dominating and dominated, as portrayed in the Bourdieu analysis. Foucault sums up by saying that power is “mobile”, which refers to the situation in which, in the words of Dreyfus and Rainbow, “power is not a commodity, a position, ... it is the operation of the political

technologies throughout the social body” (Dreyfus and Rainbow, 1982:185). Furthermore, it not only acts upon the dominated, it also acts upon the dominating.

To illustrate this argument, Foucault uses the Bentham’s plan for the Panopticon (1791) to illustrate the technology of power. Within the discipline structure, prisoners are put in cells, all of which have only two windows, one facing the central tower, from where surveillance was exercised and the other on the outside, allowing light to come to the cell (Foucault, 1977:200). Foucault argues that such a structure can induce maximum surveillance because the inmates know very well that there is always a possibility of being inspected and since they have no way to know when the guards are on duty or whether they themselves are the subject of inspection at any one time, they have to assume that “the surveillance is constant, unbending and total” (Dreyfus and Rainbow, 1982:189) and hence the prisoners become the guards.

Furthermore those in the central tower who carried out the inspection function “are enmeshed in a localisation and ordering



of their behaviour. They observed, but in the process of doing so, they were also fixed, regulated, and subject to administrative control" (Dreyfus and Rainbow, *ibid.*). Thus, power acts both ways. In the afterword written by Foucault himself to *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Foucault explains that the essence to the understanding of such a use of power is the notion that human being are themselves turned subjects of power (Foucault, in Dreyfus and Rainbow, 1982:208).

For Foucault, this has opened a whole new avenue of enquiry about discourses of knowledge. From his point of view, the "truth" as proclaimed in discourses of human knowledge after the era of the Enlightenment was based upon the very idea of human beings, thus replacing the Enlightenment idea about a free individual.

It is on this basis that the Foucault's discussion of power/knowledge is important in our exploration of the nature of and the discourses produced by the emerging intellectual field of education after the Cultural Revolution. He has given us a vision

based on which we can formulate our own principles of the enquiry as detailed in the next chapter. An important notion that is generated in the discussion made by Foucault is the concept of discourse, which was outlined in much detail in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, 1972). For Foucault, discourse is “at the point where knowledge (*savior*) must be disentangled from the matrix of social, economic, political, and institutional practices that surround it (Lemert and Gillan, 1982:61). Just in the same way as solidarity is a social fact for Durkheim, as well as *langue* and *parole* for Saussure, discourse is a social fact for Foucault. Discourse is an entity socially constructed which cannot be reduced to a product of the social structure as outlined in the Marxist or Weberian narrative or the forms of interactional practices outlined in the discussion from ethnography or interpretation as in hermeneutics. The concepts such as discursive formations, the formation of objects and enunciative modalities are devised by Foucault to give shape to what constitute a discourse.

This new avenue spearheaded by Foucault has led to a number of important and interesting social enquiries. Harvey

suggests that “Foucault’s ideas have been a fecund source for post-modernist argument” (Harvey, 1990:45). Harvey writes this statement with great care because Foucault has never called himself a post-modernist. This is not surprising because if modernity is not a project to which he would subscribe, there is no point calling him a post-modernist [9].

In a recent book about the impact of Foucault on education, Marshall suggests that Foucault “does not seem to impinge directly and explicitly upon educational thought and practice” (Marshall, 1996:3). This is clearly not because Foucault has failed to become an important source of intellectual discourse in education. Quite the reverse, the books and papers that have been published so far to celebrate the inspiration outlined by Foucault try to do establish him as an important source with the best possible words. For example, Ball started his introduction in his edited book, *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge* by suggesting that

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9      There is not even consensus among academics on the contribution of Foucault to the idea of postmodernism. For example, in a recent critique of postmodernism by Eagleton



“Michel Foucault is an enigma, a massively influential intellectual who steadfastly refused to align himself with any of the major traditions of western social thought” (Ball, 1990a:1)

Marshall starts in his book on Foucault by suggesting that

“One of the most interesting and controversial thinkers to have emerged in the Western World in the twentieth century is Michel Foucault.” (Marshall, 1996:3)

The true problem for recontextualising Foucault in the discourses of education, as suggested by Larrosa in exploring a conceptual tool to analyse the relationship between the moral domain and the moral subject, lies on the fact that,

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(1996), Foucault’s works are not even included in the review.

“Even though Foucault’s texts are full of insights and suggestions, it is impossible to find there a methodology of analysis, a theory of the specificity of the present moral subjectivities that could address the social basis of its production or, more importantly, it is impossible to find there a theory for the description of the specific practices of realisation of the technologies of the self. What Foucault is lacking is a social theory powerful enough at the macro-level and a theory of the pedagogic communication sensitive enough at the micro-level” (Larrosa, 1993, 107-108).

In the case of Larrosa’s research on the moral subject, he has to rely more on Bernstein’s works than Foucault’s. It is as if Foucault had provided a vision of the social nature of regions of truth but not a plan for the construction of the internal rules to understand such a discourse. We consider Foucault’s discussion is extremely useful in orienting discourse, through which the subject is selectively constructed. However, we need to find a tool to describe and analyse the internal rules of any discourse under consideration. This, in accordance with the view of Larrosa, is absent in the works of Foucault.

In terms of the production of knowledge, which is the focus of this research project, the Foucault project reminds us that accounting for, explaining and analysing the emerging discourse on education is not only about writing a section of the intellectual history after the Cultural Revolution. Instead it is about the need to analyse what Foucault calls the *discursive practice*, at the most general level, and is referred to as

“a set of anonymous and historical rules, always specific as to time and place, and which, for a given period and within a social, economic, geographical or linguistic zone, define the framework within which the enunciative functions are exercised” (quoted in Guédon, 1977:131).

However, in the case of the Foucault project, the ultimate source in accounting for discursive practices in various disciplines lies in the discovery of the idea. As summarised by Dreyfus and Rainbow, “human beings came to be interpreted as knowing objects, and at the same time, objects of their own knowledge” (Dreyfus and Rainbow, 1982:XV). Foucault’s great contribution is in reminding people that, again in the words of Dreyfus and Rainbow,



“A doctor can stand outside a patient and treat him objectively, but a practitioner of interpretive analysis has no such external position. The disease he seeks to cure is part of an epidemic which has also affected him” (Dreyfus and Rainbow, 1982:202).

Foucault's project of the archaeology of human sciences is to discover the ultimate basis of knowledge, which is well concealed behind the curfew of scienticity. However, Foucault's idea of the construction of human subject may become somewhat problematic when applied to the case of China. Central to Foucault's analytical project is the emergence of individualism and its regulation by the social. However, individualism is still a concept that is still very much rejected by the Chinese society. As a matter of fact, while notions like individuality and freedom are cherished ideas in the West, in Chinese society, these ideas have always been seen as potentially endangering the collectivity to which one belongs. If we can talk about the Chinese subject, then this subject is differently constructed as analysed by the Foucaultian method.

In the case of our research in this thesis, the emergence of a



conditional intellectual field, as we shall argue in the next chapter, is a result of the Post-Cultural Revolution modernisation programme launched in 1978. Thus, the emergence of the intellectual field is a result of the changes in the orientation of the political project defined and maintained by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), namely, the change from the preservation of socialist ideology to the increase of the material level of the State. We need a theory which allows us to address the shifts in ideological relationships between the State and society at the macro level and how they become the conditions for and at the same time regulate the production of discourses at the micro level. The concern here is not with a change in technologies constructing the subject, nor with changing habitus, but the process of the emerging intellectual field.

It is in this context that we shall turn our attention to the works of Bernstein.

### 2.3 Pedagogic Device and the Construction of Pedagogic Discourse: the Works of Bernstein [10]

From the point of view of the theories developed by Bernstein, the research presented in this thesis is essentially about the nature of changes in symbolic control in a specific and historical conjuncture in China, the Post-Cultural Revolution reform in China. Here, symbolic control is defined as

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10 Before going into a detailed discussion of the theoretical space created by Bernstein, I would like to make it clear that the choice for using Bernstein's theories of pedagogic discourse as the guiding thread in this research is generated from the ongoing research logic, and is not as a result of the field positions Bernstein and I as his research student are occupying, which would have been suggested in Bourdieu's theory. Indeed, in the earlier stage of the research, the concept of habitus was the main issue of discussion in the tutorials between Bernstein and I, as I was then quite unaware of the controversy between Bourdieu and Bernstein (Bourdieu, 1991:53; Bernstein, 1996). When I was able to specify the research focus, namely, the social nature of the relationship between the State and the emerging intellectual field, I then suggested to Bernstein the need to employ the theory of pedagogic device as the guiding thread of the research.



“the means whereby consciousness is given a specialised form and distributed through forms of communication which relay a given distribution of power and dominant cultural categories. Symbolic control translates power relations into discourse and discourse into power relations... [and] it can also transform those very power relations” (Bernstein, 1990a:134).

Thus, like Foucault, Bernstein’s works have been very much concerned with the relationship between power and discourse. However, for Foucault, power is defined more or less in terms of its own terrain. For Foucault, power “has its own dynamic, its own modalities and autonomies, dispersed in the micro level practices of specific discourses” (Tyler, 1995: 249). Moreover, power exists to create subjects. Individuals are subjected “by control and dependence”, resulting in tying to their “own identities by a conscious or self knowledge” (Foucault, 1982:212). However, for Bernstein, power is defined in terms of the relations it creates between and within categories of agents, agencies and discourses (Diaz, 1984:350). Thus Bernstein’s theoretical concern has always been to identify and discuss the modality of control whereby the exercise of power to maintain certain relationships

among categories of agents, agencies and discourse can be located and understood. Hence although the two theorists are both interested in the relationship between power and discourse, their different problematic has led them to develop different theoretical projects.

For Bernstein, there is always a relay for this power relationship. He therefore makes a distinction between what is relayed and the relay itself. Bernstein uses the following analogy to illustrate the importance of the distinction of the relay and what is relayed in his analysis:

"think of hi-fi ..... When the turner is activated what is heard is a function of the system carrying the signal; the system carrying the signal has already regulated the signal. What of pedagogic communication? We know what it relays, but what is the relay? We know what it carries, but what is the structure that allows, enables it to be carried? .... It is as if when we study pedagogic communication we study only the surface features, only its message, not that structure which makes the message possible" (Bernstein, 1986:169) (my own emphasis).



Hence, Bernstein proposes that in the same way as a language device translates meaning potential into communication, there exists a pedagogic device which serves as “a relay for patterns of dominance external to itself” (Bernstein, 1986:169) [11]. Bernstein argues that the relay itself is not ideologically free and may not be stable over a period of time, an example of which can be found in the changes in China during and after the Cultural Revolution, to which we shall return later in the next chapter. The pedagogic device nonetheless has its own constituents and should be subject to sociological enquiry. It is the pedagogic device that makes pedagogic communication possible. To Bernstein, “any sociology of education should have a theory of the pedagogic device” (Bernstein, 1986:190). Thus, paying attention only to what is relayed (attempts of power), without taking into the consideration the device which translates the attempts into actual practice, is restricting the sociological understanding of the nature of symbolic control. The two aspects of power, its distribution and

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11 Bernstein points out that there is a crucial difference between the language and pedagogic devices. For the language device, the language outcome is not subversive in the sense that it cannot alter the intrinsic rules of the language device, but for the pedagogic device, the outcome may in return “subvert the



modality of control must be integrated into one analysis.

In another paper, Wexler suggests that “Bernstein’s fundamental commitment to differentiating insulation as a principle regulating differences in categories of thought, communication and social relation”... is a reassertion of religious principle represented forcefully in Durkheim’s sociology of religion, reinserted into the domain of education” (Wexler, 1996:97). For Wexler, the sociological space created by Bernstein is about the principle of insulation. He sees the insulation in Durkheim’s case as originating in the distinction between the sacred and profane. Durkheim does not bring out the explicit function of insulation as the crucial site of power. In Bernstein’s terms, power relations produce insulation in order to suppress the cleavages, contradictions and dilemmas, which are inherent in the classificatory principles the insulation creates and maintains. Thus for Bernstein, insulation is both the site of order and potential for change. Wexler in his exposition ignores completely the function of framing. Consequently the social relations, as the

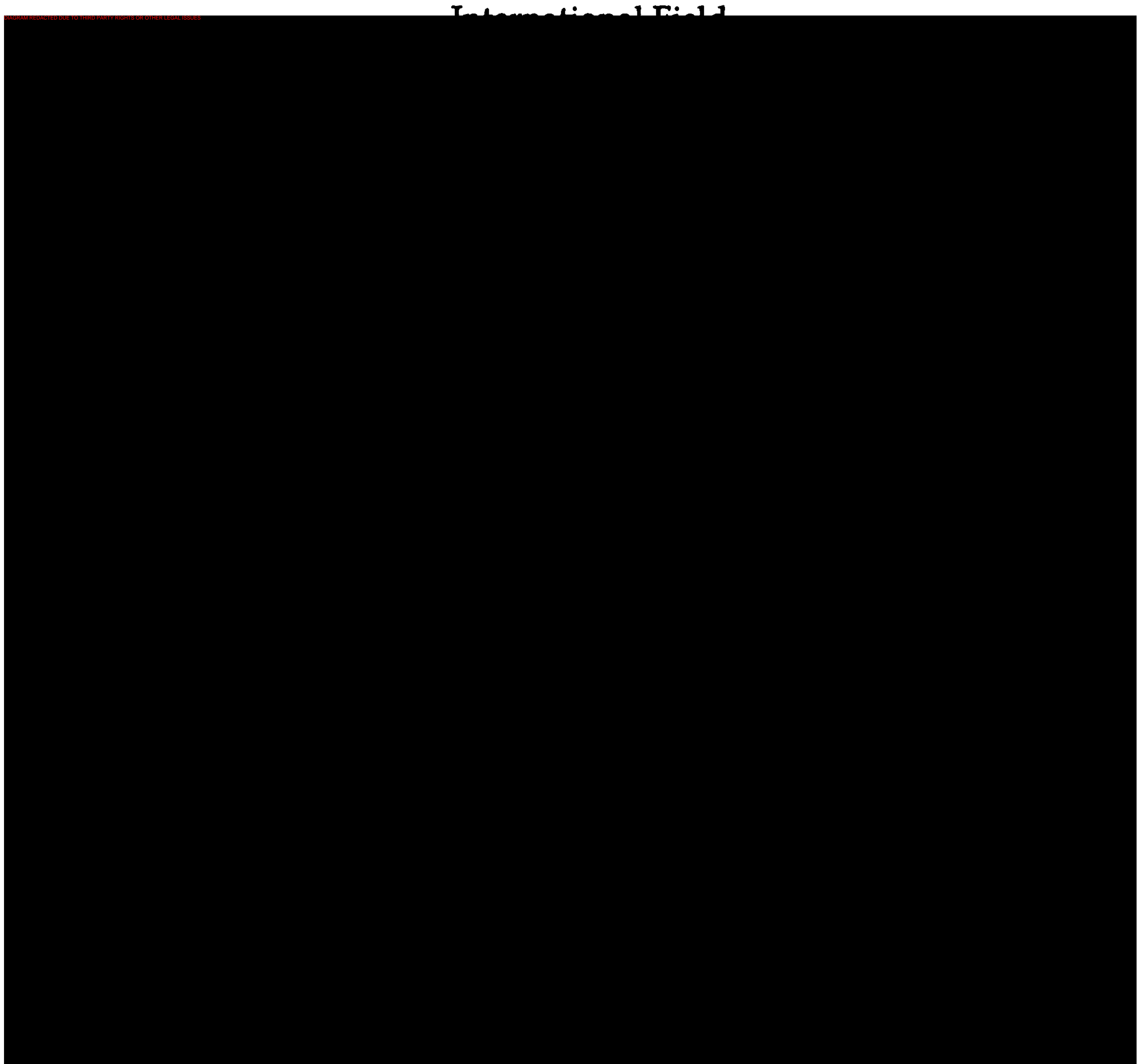
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fundamental rules of the device” (Bernstein, 1996a:42).

site of potential disturbance, are ignored in his analysis.

In the following, we shall outline the model of pedagogic device developed by Bernstein. We shall then discuss the realisation of the device by analysing the shifts in the dominant ideological positions in China during and after the Cultural Revolution. Our project here is more concerned with the production of discourses during and after the Cultural Revolution and our model is only a simplified model of that introduced by Bernstein in his original thesis of the pedagogic device (Bernstein, 1986:197) (Figure. 2.3).

Figure 2.3 A Simplified Model of the Realisation of the Pedagogic Device



Source: modified from model of the realisation of the pedagogic device from Bernstein (1986:197: figure 5.6).

According to Bernstein, the pedagogic device acts to create specific pedagogic communication through which subjects are given pedagogic identities and through which pedagogic identities are distributed. The pedagogic device is constituted by three interrelated rules: distributive rules, recontextualising rules and



evaluation rules. These rules are hierarchically situated in such a way that distributive rules regulate recontextualising rules which in turn give rise to evaluation rules (Bernstein, 1996a:42). As our research is essentially concerned with the production of discourse in the field of education during and after the Cultural Revolution in China, we shall mainly be concerned with the discursive relationship between the distributive rules and recontextualising rules of the pedagogic device.

The first level of rules in the pedagogic device is distributive rules. Here, distributive rules are principles which “regulate the relationship between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice” through “establishing control on the specialisation and distribution of different orders of meaning” to agents from different social groups (Bernstein, 1990:180).

According to Bernstein, what is fundamental in this process is that every society regulates who should be allowed to produce what types of knowledge.

To explain the function of distributive rules, Bernstein

makes a distinction between two types of knowledge: the thinkable and the unthinkable. “ The thinkable is knowledge about the mundane and the knowledge of the other while the unthinkable is knowledge about the esoteric the otherness of knowledge” (Bernstein, 1996:43). The former refers to the type of knowledge that has already been produced and become part of our own everyday world. The latter refers to knowledge which is yet to be discovered and produced, thus serving as a potential of knowledge, a potential that is yet to be realised. Bernstein suggests that between these two groups of knowledge is a potential discursive gap. In any society, therefore over various historical periods and in different cultural, political and geographical locations, there are different ways in which the potential of knowledge is realised to become knowledge and thus its realisation always contains a potential to challenge the existing order. Therefore it is always subject to regulation.

Hence, there is always a discursive gap between the thinkable and unthinkable and according to Bernstein, “power relations distribute the unthinkable and thinkable, and



differentiate and stratify groups. This is accomplished by the distributive rules” (Bernstein, 1996:45). Thus, some people, “who have been previously been legitimately pedagogised” are given the legitimacy, privilege and perhaps in a way the responsibility to cross the line and become agents active in the field of production of discourse (Bernstein, *ibid.*).

Bernstein suggests that in simple society and in modern society, the legitimacy for the production of discourse may rest in different fields. In simple society, this power mainly rests in the religious field. Perhaps one exception to this is the case of Imperial China, which was founded almost three thousand years ago. The control of the distributive rules has always been with the Imperial order and not the religious order[12].

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12 It is a matter of interest to point out here that during the era of the Imperial China, the religious order had always been subsumed under the Imperial order. When Buddhism was imported into China about two thousands years ago, it was quickly accepted as the Chinese folk religion and by the Imperial Emperor, but it could not and had never been intended to challenge the Imperial order. Imperial China ended in 1910's and before China was transformed into a socialist State in 1949, it was in a period of turmoil. Hence, the creation of modern China is only about a change in the political order of meaning, not a change from a religious order of meaning to a political order of



In modern society, the authority for the production of discourse has gradually moved to the upper echelon of the educational system. Discourse may be produced outside this field, but regulation would fall on its reproduction once the discourse becomes socially active. Moreover, once there is a formal field for the production of intellectual discourse with rules of access and license to speak, then texts and discourses produced outside of the field will be accorded much reduced significance.

The second level in the pedagogic device is the recontextualising rules. While distributive rules are concerned with the production of discourse, recontextualising rules are concerned with the construction of pedagogic discourse which “is a principle for appropriating other discourses and bringing them into a special relation with each other for the purpose of their selective transmission and acquisition” (Bernstein, 1986:183-184). It is in essence a principle for appropriating knowledge from various other discourses to form its own discourse for cultural reproduction. For example, in the teaching of mathematics in

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meaning.

secondary school, mathematical knowledge is selected to become school knowledge, as part of the pedagogic discourse of mathematics. What counts now is the social logic involved in selecting various aspects (sequence, pace and methods of teaching) of mathematics for teaching to different groups of students. Now the pedagogic discourse of mathematics education is socially and discursively different from the discourse that produces mathematics knowledge in the field of production.

It is also important to distinguish the official and pedagogic recontextualisation fields. Bernstein defines official recontextualisation field (ORF) as the field “created and dominated by the state and its selected agents and ministries” (Bernstein, 1996:48). It includes “specialised departments and sub-agencies of the State and local educational authorities together with their research and system of inspectors” (Bernstein, 1990:192). Pedagogic recontextualisation field (PRF) is defined as the field which consists of “pedagogues in schools and colleges, and departments of education, specialised journals, private research foundations” (Bernstein, 1996:48). For Bernstein, the relation

between ORF and PRF is mainly in terms of the extent of control to which ORF can exercise over PRF. Thus, the more the PRF can effect the construction of the pedagogic discourse, the more autonomy PRF can enjoy from ORF. Bernstein makes an observation that today the autonomy of PRF in constructing the pedagogic discourse has been weakened by the State's systematic attempts through the ORF (Bernstein, 1996:48). It seems that in the case of China, the reverse is happening. Reform after the Cultural Revolution has led to a relative relaxation of ideological control in the ORF. Thus more agents from the PRF have been given access to the ORF and hence the influence from the State on the ORF has lessened. Further details will be given below but the social and political contexts of the shifts will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the thesis of the pedagogic device, there is also a third level. Evaluation rules refer to the ways in which the pedagogic discourse transforms time, text and space into acquisition, evaluation and transmission, which constitute what we generally call pedagogic practice.



The major issue with which we are concerned here is the ways in which the hierarchical relationship between distributive rules and recontextualisation rules is realised within the pedagogic device. The theory of pedagogic device suggests that distributive rules give rise to recontextualisation rules. Thus they form a hierarchical relationship. But how is this relationship realised? Bernstein suggests that distributive rules are sociologically translated into the field of production of discourses while recontextualisation rules are translated into a number of recontextualising fields, all of which collectively form what Bernstein has called pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 1996: 45-47). Nonetheless Bernstein spends relatively more time discussing pedagogic discourse because for him, education is in essence about recontextualisation. An example of such an assertion can be found in his analysis of the discourse of teacher training (Bernstein, 1990: 161-163). Several years later, Bernstein even devotes one whole paper to illustrate the ways in which the concept of competence developed by intellectuals from social sciences who “have little or no concern for education” has been recontextualised to become a concept in education which serves to provide a focus and redirect

emphasis in pedagogic theories and practices (Bernstein, 1996:54-80). Indeed, in an earlier paper on pedagogic discourse, Bernstein even goes as far as suggesting that “it is the recontextualising field which generates the positions of pedagogic theory, research and practice” (Bernstein, 1990:193).

It is thus not accidental for Bernstein to put educational journals in the official and pedagogic recontextualising fields.

In the case of China, especially in the reform after the Cultural Revolution, discursive space for intellectuals to think about problems, to exercise “intellectual” imaginations is created as a result of ideological shifts within the State. This historical condition has given rise to a specific realisation of the hierarchical relations between distributive rules and recontextualising rules.

In the following, we shall attempt to give a brief introduction to the Cultural Revolution and the reform after the Cultural Revolution to illustrate how the theory of the pedagogic device can help us to understand the relations between ideological

changes in China and the production of discourse. To be more specific, we want to understand how changes of ideological positions during and after the Cultural Revolution affect the production and reproduction of knowledge in China.

The dominant ideological position in place during the Cultural Revolution was radical collectivism. More detailed formulation and discussion of radical collectivism will be made in the next chapter. A basic feature about radical collectivism was the integration of production and education. To put it in a more formal way, the integration of production and education referred to the integration of categories between and within both the fields of production and education and so a weakening of the social realisation of agents in the fields of economics and symbolic field. Indeed, according to Mao, the revolutionary reorganisation of the Chinese society should necessarily lead to the final fusion of the fields of economics and symbolic field. We shall call this hereafter the integrated field of economics and symbolic control.

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In the production sites of this integrated field of economics



and symbolic field, the moves were to simplify the division of labour in economic production by integrating the agents from all aspects into one single unit of production and schooling. Thus, within a factory, the former managers, technicians and workers were to form an integral production unit and they were then expected to organise a schooling unit to teach the students. The students in return were to become members of the unit of production. A similar situation was to happen in school and university. Schools and universities were encouraged to form their own sites of production such as factories and farms. Moreover, the distinction between teachers and students became blurred as both were encouraged to engage in teaching and learning. Furthermore, as they had to take part in production, the teachers, students, workers, and peasants all became integrated agents located in the integrated fields of economics and symbolic control.

Clearly, this reform meant that the social basis of the production and reproduction of knowledge was changed. Radical collectivism was expressed through the integration of the fields of

production and symbolic control. A simplified social division of labour was relayed through an integrated pedagogic device, i.e. integrated distributive and recontextualising rules. Thus knowledge was produced and recontextualised in the same site by the same group of agents, with the ultimate source generated from the speeches and texts produced by Mao. In a way, the pedagogic device became an ideological device producing ideological subjects. The absorption of the recontextualising rules into the distributive rules also meant that theories of education as we traditionally understand had no place and they were to be replaced by ideo-political theories produced by Mao. Thus in our example of the teaching of mathematics, mathematics knowledge was now no longer produced in the university isolated from the sites of production. It was likely to be produced in the sites of economic production (e.g. a factory) and, in accordance with the discoveries of mathematics knowledge must be closely related to economic production. The teaching of mathematics was also likely to be shared by a group composed of teachers, workers and students. Indeed, the same group of agents was also likely to be responsible of researching mathematical knowledge.

Reforms after the Cultural Revolution were guided by what we call regulated individualism as discussed in the next chapter. It entailed a gradual liberalisation in the field of economics while maintaining certain control in the field of symbolic control. This necessarily denoted in a fundamental sense re-differentiation of the field of economics and symbolic control.

In the field of economics, there were systematic attempts to promote economic production organised around the household or the individual as alternatives to collectivist-based economic production. However, in the field of symbolic control, the State played a relatively more vigorous role. As a general trend, intellectuals were offered certain space for various activities. Different voices from intellectuals were tolerated as long as the intellectuals would not, as perceived by the CCP, take advantage of the newly created autonomy to challenge the socialist order.

We shall now turn to the relay for regulated individualism. The ideological device as constructed during the Cultural Revolution now became the pedagogic device for the relay of



regulated individualism.

In essence, the distributive rules and the recontextualisation rules were now re-separated for different functions. It thus denoted a distinction between the producers and reproducers of knowledge. Using the case of mathematics education, the mathematics researcher would now return to the universities to continue his/her research in education. It was now believed that requiring the researcher to take part in production and at the same explore the mathematical logic was wasting too much of the researcher's time. Preserving socialist consciousness now gave way to efficiency in production though the socialist project was not to be abandoned. The distributive rules now had a dual function of regulating the production of ideologically oriented discourse as well as that of any intellectually oriented discourse. The format of this relationship could be different from one intellectual discourse to another. For example, the discursive space for the production of the discourse of economics would have more autonomy than that of education.

Moreover, reform after the Cultural Revolution was not a smooth shift from radical collectivism to regulative individualism. As we shall explain in greater detail in the next chapter, the Post Cultural Revolution reform is about the conflicts between regulative individualism and traditional collectivism, the distributive rules before the Cultural Revolution. Thus, the initial period of the Post Cultural Revolution saw the ideological debate about whether China should go back to the pre-Cultural Revolution era or to go forward to the Modernisation programme, which would inevitably entail more personal autonomy within the socialist framework. We shall argue that the theory of pedagogic device allows us to examine the nature of this debate and its effect on the production of discourse in China.

We have demonstrated how Bernstein is able to offer what he regards as a strange omission in the Foucault's thought about the technology of self, namely, that

“there is no substantive analysis of the complex of agencies, agents, social relations through which power, knowledge, and discourse are brought into play as regulative devices; nor any discussion of the modalities of control.... It is discourse without social relations” (Bernstein, 1990:134).

It is perhaps a Bernstein device to a Foucaultian problematic of the technology of self.

It is also a discourse that relates text to positions within and between the fields, instead of field positions without an analysis of discourse, as promised by Bourdieu. From the point of view of Bourdieu, the reason for his emphasis on field positions and not discourse is the argument of arbitrariness. He argued that,

“symbolic power does not reside in symbolic systems in the form of an ‘illocutionary’ force but that it is defined in and by a determinate relationship between those who exercise this power and those who undergo it ... in the very structure of the field in which belief is produced and reproduced.” (Bourdieu, 1977, pp.177)

Thus, what is taken to be the “object” of symbolic power is



those who are in the dominating position to attach symbolic value to whatever that would preserve their power position. The discourse for the producers of symbolic control is of less interest to those who dominate it. This argument has an interesting position because it is saying as symbolic control has no internal ordering, it is not worth studying. For Bernstein, it is crucial to understand the procedures which create the “arbitrary” as a text and to show not only who dominates, but how the text is internally produced. In Bernstein’s term, it is necessary to integrate in one analysis “relation to” and “relation within” (Bernstein, 1990: 179-180). In this chapter we have demonstrated that the way to understand the emergence of the new rules for social consciousness in the Post Cultural Revolution era in China is to examine the relationships between the fields of the State and intellectuals. Thus, we need a theory that allows us to study how one field regulates the other while the other field struggles to create its own autonomy. Bernstein provides the tools whereby the mystery of the translation of power into discourses can be revealed.

The model of pedagogic device has been developed for

some years and has been used in a number of studies. For example, the ideas are developed in seminars and then presented in Diaz (1984) where the ideas inform the perspective from which he rewrites about Colombian primary education. Cox's study (1986) is concerned with analysing the sociological nature of various pedagogic projects of political parties and their roots in various relations of the fields of production and symbolic control held by these associated political parties. Swope's project (1992) demonstrates the ways in which pedagogic discourses are constructed in a particular context of Chilean informal church based community groups. This model of the pedagogic device has also been used in a number of interactional studies at the level of the classroom. For example, Singh's study (1995) is concerned with the recontextualisation of computer science as a classroom practice in primary schools and how differential acquisition is related to gender positions. Edwards (1995) adopts the theory of pedagogic discourse to show the social nature of the academic - vocational split in the English educational system.

Apple, while remaining a Marxist, acknowledges the

contribution of the theory of the pedagogic device by helping him to explore the regulatory function of the State in the production of official knowledge in America (Apple, 1995). Semel, on the other hand, provides a sociological account of the discourse of American progressive education (Semel, 1995)

All the above studies are more or less concerned with the application of recontextualisation principles and evaluative rules in researching various aspects of the pedagogic activities at the level of the schooling system and informal agencies. However, in this research project, we shall mainly be concerned with the application of the model to the production of the discourse. At the empirical level, we are concerned with the changing relationships between the State and the intellectual field, and the shifts in what counts as legitimate production of knowledge in China after the Cultural Revolution.

In explicating the various concepts, Bernstein has consistently referred to events in China in his writing. For example, he suggests that the reform launched by the CCP during



the Cultural Revolution can be understood in terms of weak classification between education (integrated agents across production categories) and production (integrated act) (Bernstein, 1990b: 51) [13]. This issue is taken up by the writer and a more elaborated analysis is presented in Cheung (1987). In the late 80's, Bernstein observes that the "changes in socialist societies (socialist theory) are likely to provide the basis for the 'new collectivism' or the new principles of socialist solidarity" (Bernstein, 1990a: 145). A number of years later, in a response to the discussion made by Tyler on decoding school reform (1995), Bernstein begins to develop the concept of pedagogic identity, in which the educational project in the Post-Cultural Revolution project is summed up as projecting a prospective identity. Bernstein then goes on to suggest that "In China, the Communist Party recontextualises itself as the discourse to preserve the soul of China, insulating that soul from Western contamination while at the same time importing its market rationality" (Bernstein, 1995:411). In our research, the idea of a new collectivism is given

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13      The paper was originally published in *Language and Society*, 10 (1981), pp.327-63

a more specific definition, namely, regulated individualism, to reflect the shifts of balance between collectivism and individualism as maintained by the CCP within China. Hence, we are able to define our research question in terms of the shifts in ideological positions in regulating the field of the production of discourses.

## 2.4 Conclusion

We have discussed in the above the difficulties of using the theories developed by Bourdieu and Foucault as the guiding thread for our research.

We started the chapter by discussing the usefulness of the concepts of field and habitus as the guiding threads in this research. We discussed the initial attractiveness of the concepts. Then we pointed out that in this research we are examining the effects of changes within in the field of the State on the field of production of discourse and the shortcomings of the theories developed by Bourdieu in discussing the issues which we have identified for ourselves. We have also discussed some intrinsic

problems in Bourdieu's formulation of the concepts.

We then turn our attention to the theories of discourse developed by Foucault. We have suggested the research potential opened up by Foucault in his reformulation of the fundamental issues underpinning Western social sciences especially in his new formulation of power/knowledge. However, we have also pointed out the difficulties of using Foucault's discussion of discourse in our research. Foucault has not offered a way for us to examine the issue we have identified above.

Nonetheless, we acknowledge the theoretical contributions made by Bourdieu and Foucault. On the other hand, Bernstein's lifelong insistence on the importance of constructing a model, which facilitates the possibility of understanding how macro power relationships are translated into practices at the micro level, opens the way for our research.

We shall now turn to the next chapter for an outline of the research question.



## CHAPTER THREE

### Three Discourses of Chinese Socialism (1978 - 1993)

#### 3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we are going to outline and discuss changes in the ideological discourses in the light of the developmental paths taken by the Chinese Communist Party in China. As indicated in the last chapter, what guides this study is the theory of the pedagogic device developed by Bernstein (1996). According to Bernstein, the pedagogic device is constituted by a set of hierarchically structured rules: distributive rules, recontextualisation rules and evaluative rules. The production of discourse is regulated by distributive rules, which regulate the possibility of knowledge, its distribution among social groups and its realisation (Bernstein, 1996:42). For him, distributive rules define the gap and also who has access to the gap between the unthinkable and thinkable, which ultimately regulate the “what” and “who” of the production of discourse. Thus different distributive rules privilege different types of voices, their

boundaries and hence limitations, and also their voices of opposition. In the last chapter, we discussed the theoretical discourses constructed by Bernstein, its relationship with other discourses on symbolic control as developed by Bourdieu, and Foucault.

In this thesis, we consider that one major regulator in the distributive rules in studying the nature of Chinese society is ideology. A study of the changes and conflicts engendered by the proclaimed ideology of the CCP helps to retrace the locus of socialist development in China (Tsou, 1986; Schram, 1984). Following Schram, the examination of socialist ideology in a particular socialist society as self-proclamation of the fundamental guidelines for socialist development by the Communist Party is of great importance to the understanding of that particular society. Thus, these formal expressions of the Party can then be understood in terms of the stated political, social and economic aims of the society. He further points out that,

“Not only do the theoretical formulations put forward by the Party leadership constitute the most general, and in many ways the most suggestive expression of the line at any given time; once enunciated, they have a life of their own, shaping the political climate and thereby influencing subsequent political development.” (Schram, 1984:1)

In this research, we are going to show how the dominant rules are translated into discourses of moral education in the context of Post-Cultural Revolution reform in China.

We shall start by outlining the three ideological positions which we consider regulating the distributive rules between 1949 and 1993 in China, hence generating three discourses of socialism. We shall then go on to discuss some possible consequences of those ideological positions in terms of the exercise of symbolic control in China.

As we shall demonstrate in this thesis, our distinction of three discourses of socialism is more useful than a radical-



moderate approach [14] in explaining and discussing Chinese politics and changes in Chinese educational policies. The radical-moderate approach is usually adopted to explain the “pendulum pattern” in the shifts of ideological positions in Chinese education policies and other social policies. The phenomenon of “pendulum pattern” or “zigs zags” in the Chinese policy cycle is a consensus among students of Chinese studies. However, this does not mean that the pendulum swings on a “radical-moderate” continuum. From a semantic point of view, one may argue that there is always a radical-moderate continuum on which the pendulum swings. However, a radical ideological positioning at one historical conjuncture may be regarded by the State as moderate or even reactionary at another conjuncture. From the perspective of the theory of pedagogic device, any dominant voice sets up its own opposition voice through the realisation of distributive rules. Thus although the pendulum keeps on swinging, it may swing between different poles in different periods.

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14      An example of such a radical-moderate approach can be found in Shen, 1994.

The idea that there are three different ideological positions in Chinese socialism is not new. Riskin suggests that throughout the course of Chinese socialism between 1949 and the eighties, there have been three visions of socialism: Maoist model, central planning model and market socialism model (Riskin, 1984). He criticises Western Chinese observers who have taken Chinese political rhetoric for granted and wrongly accepts that the Chinese ideological struggle is basically a two-line struggle: a struggle between capitalism and socialism. It is, according to him, a struggle among three visions of socialism.

For him, the Maoist model is based on the ability of the State to mobilise the mass through various political campaigns. Professional bureaucrats are distrusted to run State affairs and administrative power is decentralised to the level of local community groups. On the other hand, the central planning model is derived from the Soviet model. It relies a lot on the ability of the bureaucrats in the state machinery to carry out State functions. Finally, the idea of market socialism is originally developed by Tito in the [former] Yugoslavia. It assigns certain

roles to the market in the allocation and distribution of resources. Instead of directly intervening in the economy of the socialist society, the State is willing to use economic levers such as taxation, and hence certain autonomy at the local level is possible (Riskin, 1984:1-10).

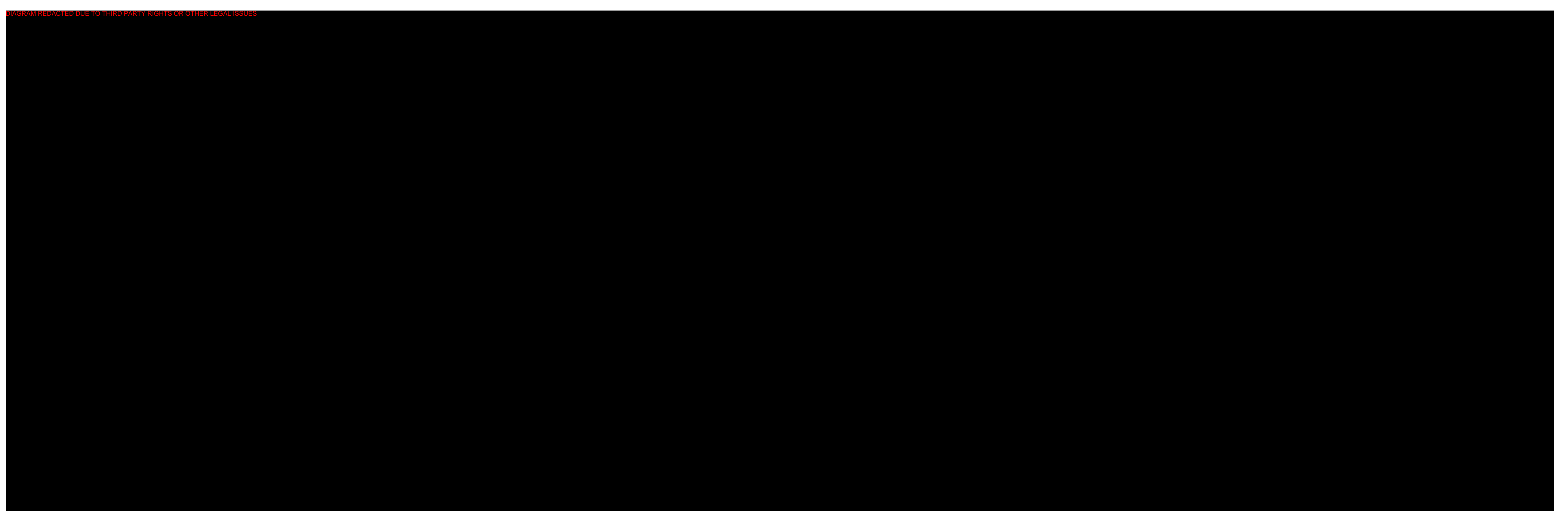
The idea of three visions of socialism is also adopted by Kraus in his analysis of Chinese cultural politics since 1949: bureaucratic, radical mass mobilization and market orientation (Kraus, 1984: 48-49). In a bureaucratic system, for Kraus, the bureaucrats work within the State to decide what is suitable for the masses in the field of cultural consumption: to be inspired, to be entertained or to be educated. Professional artists are merely State salaried employees working in the State cultural organs to implement the decisions made by the bureaucracy (Kraus, 1984:49). In the radical mass mobilization model, professional artists have to give way to “amateur” but true mass artists. In this way, cultural consumption is always an expression of socialist culture, mostly about the glorification of the hard work of the peasants and factory workers. According to Mao, cultural activities can only be



produced by those who work in the field. In the market system, individual artists are given the chance to produce their own cultural products and to compete for their own audience (Kraus, 1984).

The idea of three visions of socialism is recently applied in analysing changes of education policies in China. Acknowledging the influence of Solinger's work, Sautman proposes three forms of politicisation of Chinese Education, which serve to inform their respective policy content. They are namely: politicised, hyperpoliticised and depoliticised which were respectively the ideological positions for bureaucratic, radical and reform policy content (Sautman, 1991) (Table 3.1).

**Table 3.1      A Summary of Sautman's Phases of Policy Positions and Ideological Positions Proposed in this Thesis.**



(Source: adapted from table 1 in Sautman, Barry, 1991,)

We find Sautman's distinction very useful. In this chapter, we shall take up this issue and go on to propose three ideological positions which served to inform the production of discourses since 1949: traditional collectivism, radical collectivism and regulated individualism. Formal definitions of these positions will be given in the following sections. At the end of this chapter, we shall compare our three discourses of socialism with Sautman's analysis.

We shall now outline the dominant ideological positions, their implications and the oppositional voice [15] in the three phases of development between 1949 until 1993.

Before discussing the different phases in the development of ideological positioning in China, we would like to raise two issues.

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15 The exception is the absence of an oppositional voice during the Cultural Revolution. In a way, it was a silenced voice, rather than an absent voice. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the reform after the Cultural Revolution could be launched so successfully. The silenced voice served as an important



Firstly, we have demonstrated the consensus about the existence of three visions of socialism, despite the fact that historians of Chinese politics may have different ideas about the boundaries of demarcation between one phase of development and another. In this chapter, our aim is to give a broad sketch of three phases of ideological development in China, rather than discuss which particular year should fall into a particular category of ideological development.

Secondly, our major focus in this thesis is on the development after the Cultural Revolution. Hence, we shall only give a very brief outline of the first two phases of ideological development. Instead, we will discuss the emergence of the new ideological positioning in the context of the old ones and how this new position gives rise to a new discourse of moral education. We shall thus devote much of the discussion of this chapter to the last phase of the development, namely, the emergence of regulative individualism.

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discursive source for the emerging regulated individualism.



### **3.1 The Emergence and Decline of Traditional Collectivism in China: 1949-1966**

The first discourse of Chinese socialism to be considered in this chapter, traditional collectivism, was from 1949 to 1966, with the exception of 1957-58 when the CCP launched the Great Leap Forward.

Traditional collectivism refers to a conception that embeds the individual completely in the socialist collectivity. This in turn creates the legitimate ideological consciousness of the relationship between the individual and the collective where the latter is foregrounded and the former finds its role within the collective. This concept, which positions individuals within the collective, is supported, maintained and legitimated by the social organisation of production. The construction of individuals is always instrumental to the development of the collective.

The essence of traditional collectivism is the idea of the primacy of collectivist over individualist considerations. The role of the individual is thus defined by its position within the

individual-collective relationship. In the field of production, traditional collectivism is concerned with the function of individuals within the collectivist units of production. In moral education, the concern is for individuals to accept the need to be committed to such a function and relations.

Traditional collectivism had its origin in the Soviet model. Indeed, it has been noted that a substantial part of the Constitution adopted in 1954 was a direct quote from the 1936 Soviet Constitution (Hu, 1976:41). The concern in fact was essentially about national development. On the one hand, new China needed to raise the literacy level of the general population [16]. On the other hand, China required more graduates as they were badly needed for the construction of the new country. Kwong observes that “during this period, the emphasis was on practice in the acquisition of knowledge and ideological education in socialist reconstruction was largely ignored”. What she probably means is that ideological education was not mainly delivered in the form of

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16 In 1949, China “was a country with a 85% illiterate population and less than 40% of the school-age children went to schools (Cheung, 1987)

school education. For example, the State released two circulars concerning rules of conduct in primary and secondary schools in mid-fifties. They were essentially more about discipline problems in schools than about socialist ideology. The only reference made to the State was the request that students were to respect the National Flag, as well as the leader of the people (Hu, 1976:72-73). Kwong believes that the ideological resocialisation for the general mass and the students is essentially through various political campaigns, such as the “Resist American and Aid Korean Campaign”, “Suppression of Counter Revolutionaries” and “The Three-Anti Five-Anti Campaign” (Kwong, 1979:76) [17]. For intellectuals, however, the situation was totally different (Kwong, 1979:75).

In the early years of national construction, under the influence of the Soviet model, China had to rely upon intellectuals

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17 The “Resist American and Aid Korean Campaign” was launched to recruit the Voluntary Army to take part in the Korean War. “The Three-Anti Five-Anti Campaign was launched to fight against corruption, waste, and bureaucracy among the government employees, and against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for speculation among businessmen.



and professionals who were mostly trained overseas, who though not interested in the communist project, were nonetheless committed to nationalistic appeals (Cheung, 1987:18-19). Political re-socialisation was considered necessary. In 1956, a national conference on the question of intellectuals was held. The Premier, Zhou Enlai summed up what the Party expected from the intellectuals.

“It is imperative that we give firmer leadership...and take a series of effective measures to mobilise the intellectuals to the fullest extent and bring into full play their strength by ceaselessly raising their political consciousness, training new recruits on a large scale to add to their ranks, and raising their professional skills as far as possible to meet the ever growing demands made on them by the state.” (Zhou, quoted in Chen, 1981: 51)

Thus the relationship between the State and intellectuals was not a comfortable one. Guided by the Soviet idea of management, and informed by what we are calling in this thesis traditional collectivism, the Party hoped that intellectuals would just play their appropriate role in national construction. In the conference, Zhou made it clear that intellectuals were badly

needed. However, Zhou also requested intellectuals to study Marxism and Leninism, as well as accept the Party's leadership unconditionally.

The relationship between the State and intellectuals deteriorated after the "Double Hundred" Campaign in 1957. Mao coined the statement "let a hundred flowers blossom together, let a hundred schools contend" (*hence double hundred campaign*) in 1957 to invite intellectuals to voice out their opinions about State affairs. When more and more intellectuals started to talk about the desirability of a multi-party system in China, Mao then turned the campaign into the "Anti-Rightist Campaign". Thousands of intellectuals [18], who accepted the offer to advise the State during the "Double Hundred Campaign", were then labelled as rightists and accused of conspiring to overthrow the CCP. They were either purged from their working organisations, or sent to the countryside, where they were supposed to learn from the peasants about socialism (Chen, 1981:53-60).

For Mao, traditional collectivism was too much expert oriented. There was a brief attempt initiated by Mao to reorganise the educational system along a more revolutionary line during the two years of the Great Leap Forward (1957-1958). Measures introduced during the Great Leap Forward included all primary schools to operate work-study programmes [19] and setting up red and expert tertiary institutions with no regular teaching schedule. Their main duty was to organise community construction work; and the launch of “Youth to the Countryside” campaign (Cleverley, 1985:146-147). Chan described the programmes launched during the Great Leap Forward as: diversification, political education, comprehensive development and collectivisation (Chan, 1992:85).

The Great Leap Forward was an attempt to challenge traditional collectivism and replace with what we shall call radical collectivism. We shall give a formal definition to radical

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18 This includes the current Premier Zhu Rongzhi.

19 In the programmes, teachers and students were asked to take part in community life, such as sweeping streets, weeding gardens, collecting firewood and even working in the factories as well as fields.



collectivism in the next section.

The Great Leap Forward ended in economic disaster.

Economic conditions were even worse than before. Sino-Soviet relations were at their lowest point ever as the Soviet Government recalled all the Soviet experts from China in July 1960. Mao blamed himself for wrongly launching the Great Leap Forward. Officially he retreated to the second line of command and let Liu Shaoqi [20] take over the daily administration of State affairs. In fact, until the launch of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, this has been known as “the struggle between two lines” (Cleverly, 1985:141). In the language of the radicals, the struggle between two lines spearheaded by Mao and Liu was a struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. In this thesis, it is a struggle between radical collectivism and traditional collectivism.

For Mao, China in the early sixties had already been

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20     At that time, Liu was the President of the State. He was the second in the line of command in the Chinese Community Party, right next to Mao. At one time, Mao regarded him as a natural and designated successor. However, his pursuit of a different logic of development led to a fierce challenge from Mao during

contaminated by capitalistic revisionism and the only way out was to change the ideological position of the policies. He initiated the Cultural Revolution to implement a position of radical collectivism.

### **3.2 The Dominance and Fall of Radical Collectivism in China 1957-1978**

In this thesis, radical collectivism refers to the dominant ideological position advocated briefly during the Great Leap Forward (1957-58) and then during the Cultural Revolution in China. In the language of pedagogic device, a basic feature of the Cultural Revolution was the fusion of the distributive rules and recontextualisation, resulting in integration between production and education. A substantive analysis of the reform during the Cultural Revolution is made by Cheung (1987), but the concept of radical collectivism was not yet developed for the conceptual analysis.

The Party now totally controlled, in Bernstein's terms, the field of production of knowledge and the recontextualisation field.

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the Cultural Revolution.

Thus, those who had access to the site of the unthinkable and the thinkable were now the new privileged social groups selected by the State, i.e. the workers and the peasants. Intellectuals had access only if they transformed themselves into workers or peasants, thus fulfilling the criteria of “red” and “expert”. Effectively, the role of intellectuals as the producers and disseminators of knowledge was removed and the intellectuals dispersed among the workers. The ivory tower of education as a separate social institution was demolished and then rebuilt all over China as integrated workshops of factories, farms, teaching and research institutions. Intellectuals, now including workers, had to carry out their research work at the shop floor. However, we must stress that intellectuals as such were not opposed during the Cultural Revolution. Intellectuals would only be denounced if they did not become “revolutionary intellectuals”. For Mao, the only option for intellectuals was to become both “red” and “expert”. Thus, the production of discourse must be derived from the revolutionary discourse prescribed by Mao. It is thus possible for us to suggest that, during the Cultural Revolution, the production of knowledge was regulated through the integration of



education and economic production.

An exemplar of this was the Shanghai Machine-tool Plant widely reported during the Cultural Revolution. Changes were on two fronts. First, the expert managers no longer controlled the factory. They were replaced by a “three-in-one” integration system, which comprised workers, revolutionary technicians and revolutionary cadres. The workers now also took part in design work and technicians took part in the production. Second, students learned revolutionary ideas and technical expertise by participating in the actual production (*People’ Daily*, in Seybolt, 1973:259-271). Thus, the factory was a unit of production, teaching and research all at the same time. Indeed, when Mao launched the Cultural Revolution by issuing the May 7<sup>th</sup> Directive, 1966, in the form of a letter written to Lin Biao [21], he urged that,

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21 Lian Biao was named by Mao as his successor during the Cultural Revolution after Liu Shao Chi was purged and expelled from the Party. He made an attempt to escape to the Soviet Union after a failed assassination of Mao but his aeroplane was shot down by the Army near the Soviet border.

“While the main task of workers is in industry, they should also study military affairs, politics and culture. They, too, should take part in..... the criticising of the bourgeoisie. When conditions permit, they should also engage in agricultural production and side occupations... This holds true for students too. While their main task is to study, they should... learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs... The school terms should be shortened, education should be revolutionised, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should not be allowed to continue.”  
(Mao, 1966: 201)

Secondly, the integration of education and production means a deschooled production-education social network. This is perhaps an even more radical version of deschooling than that in Illich's *Deschooling Society*. Illich's deschooling society proposes a deschooled education network that is still maintaining strong classification between education and production. Moreover, students in Illich's deschooled network still have to sit for public examination. However, in the case of the Cultural Revolution, learning and production merged and took place in schools that were now constructed in the factories and farms or factories or farms that were built within the schools. Moreover, there were

attempts to change the university entrance recruitment method. It was thought that the old method of examination would only benefit students coming from professional and political elite background and therefore there was a request to select students on the basis of their class background supplemented by a test of merit (Chu, 1973).

Third, the elimination of the recontextualisation field also meant that the place for pedagogic theories had virtually disappeared. During the Cultural Revolution, teacher training was basically a further socialisation of Mao's ideology of radical collectivism. For example, during that time, the Revolutionary Committee of Guangdong Normal College reported that they reformed all teacher training based on the practical and political experience of the peasants and workers in the farms and factories (Guangdong Normal College, 1971). Teaching content and methods had to be derived from Mao's ideological theory. Thus, during the Cultural Revolution, moral education was the equivalent of political and ideological education.



### **3.3 The Revival of Traditional Collectivism and the Emergence of Regulated Individualism: 1978-1993 the Political Context**

As argued in the previous sections of this chapter, the fundamental feature of the process of societal transformation during the Cultural Revolution was the absorption of the field of production into the field of symbolic control, the control of which was in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Production was politicised to the extent that the notion of “what or how much” was totally embedded within the notion of “how”. There was a strong control of how production relationship should be organised by the CCP bureaucracy. For the “revolutionaries”, it was a battle of life and death between socialism and capitalism/revisionism in China. The demarcation between what was socialism and what was capitalism /revisionism was thus defined by the ideologues within the CCP. The Party regarded itself as the only group of people who knew the secret path to the ultimate heaven of Chinese Communism. The cart that was supposed to take them there was the “Thought of Mao Tsetung”. We would therefore suggest that any reform that took place after the Cultural Revolution had to begin with the transformation of

the CCP itself, which raises two separated but related issues.

Firstly, the Post-Cultural Revolution reform has never been meant for the end of the control of the CCP over China. The underlying principle of the reform is to set free the field of production from the over-domination by the field of symbolic control. It thus implies a reorganisation of the field of symbolic control. There follows a redefinition of the relationship between the field of production and the field of symbolic control. The inner logic of the organisation of the field of symbolic control has thus to be redefined through the construction of a new ideology. But what is the new ideology?

Secondly, the CCP machinery itself has to be reorganised because the re-definition of the relations within and between the field of production and the field of symbolic control has to be realised through a different relationship between the Party, State and the society. The total domination of the society by the Party during the Cultural Revolution is now seen as incompatible with the new ideology. But what could be the new role of the Party?

We suggest that the political context underlining the Post Cultural Revolution reform should be analysed in terms of the changing relationships between the distribution of power and principles of control. In the following sections, we hope to be able to demonstrate how the political context of the reform can be understood through an examination of the re-organisation of these two principles.

### 3.3.1 Changing Ideology

In this section, we aim to explore the changes in the construction of the ideology from which reform policies and programmes are generated. We agree with Schram's argument that the new ideology should not be understood simply as "de-Maoisation" (Schram, 1984:2).

Our objective in this section is to show the shift of the dominant ideology of the Chinese Communist Party from the revolutionary ideology realised in the form of radical collectivism as suggested in the previous sections in this chapter. This shift is manifested in the ideological struggle between the so-called "the



two whateverists” and the “seeking truth from practice” factions (explanations for the two factions are given below). Further, we shall argue that the zigzag developmental path in China leads to the emergence of what we shall call regulated individualism.

### **3.3.2 The “Two Whateverists” and “Seeking the Truth from Facts”**

The death of Mao and the subsequent arrest of the Gang of Four in 1978 saw the intensifying struggle between two factions of the Party in offering the legitimate interpretation of Mao’s thought. As pointed out by Schram, there was an ideological struggle within the CCP about how socialism should proceed (Schram, 1984:3-12). On one side, there was Hua Guofeng, who was made chairman of the Party the next day after the arrest of the Gang of Four in September 1976. He spearheaded what later would be called the “whateverist” argument. On the other side there was Deng Xiaopeng, who was made vice-premier of the State Council in July 1977, when the Third Plenum of the tenth Central Committee of CCP was held. He spearheaded what later would be called the “seeking truth from fact” argument.

Hua Guofeng was chosen by Mao as his successor towards the end of the Cultural Revolution (Tsou, 1984:328). He advocated a somewhat mechanical and straightforward interpretation of Mao's idea as the next step for Chinese modernisation by announcing the famous whateverist argument:

“[W]e will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave.  
“(Renmin Ribao, 7, Feb., 1977)

For Deng and his followers at that time, the situation was quite different. The aftermath of the Cultural Revolution was a potential political catastrophe. It was reported that Deng endorsed the view that the Party and the nation was confronted with a situation of “life or death, existence or extinction” (Quoted from Tsou, 1984). Thus there was a need for, in the words of Tsou, “historical change while maintaining continuity with the Past” (Tsou, 1984). The tactic for initiating the changes was to start an ideological debate on the importance of “seeking the truth from facts”, which was Mao's own words so as to restore the fine tradition of the CCP. It is only through such “a return to the

realistic and undogmatic approach which had characterised Mao's own thinking, and to a substantial degree his practice which could open a way out of the impasse in which China found herself in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution" (Schram, 1984:3). Deng was arguing for a "modern" but perhaps revisionist interpretation of Mao's thoughts.

The result of the debate is very important to understanding the path taken by the Chinese Communist Party in breaking away from the "religious" attitude towards Mao adopted during the Cultural Revolution (Schoenhals, 1991:244).

The result of this ideological struggle was the Communiqué agreed by the Third Plenary Session of the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the CCP held between 18 and 22 December 1978, which was widely regarded as the starting point for the post Cultural Revolution reform (Schram, 1984; Gray & White, 1982; Chossudovsky, 1986; *Beijing Review*, No.52, 1978). A detailed study of the Communiqué would reveal the changes of the self-proclaimed ideology offered justification for the swift changes that



followed this famous meeting.

The Communiqué begins with an appraisal of the CCP's "nation-wide political revolution to expose and repudiate Lin Biao and the gang of four". It is now claimed that in fact the Party under the leadership of Mao Zedong and Zhou En-lai had always emphasised the importance of economic production. This imperative was demoted because of the interruption made by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four during the Cultural Revolution.

The Communiqué announced the famous decision,

"now is an appropriate time to take the decision to close the large-scale nation-wide mass movement ...and to shift the emphasis of our Party's work and the attention of the whole people of our country to the socialist movement."  
(FE/6003/C/2)

Although the Communiqué also points out that the CCP is not to relax class struggle, or the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communiqué itself is a demonstration of the shift of ideology. Class struggle, according to the Communiqué, is no longer large-

scale turbulent class struggle, but should be carried out “in accordance with the procedures prescribed by the constitution and the law” (my own emphasis).

In fact the main emphasis of the Communiqué is not upon how class struggle is to be carried out. Instead it is the blueprint for economic modernisation. The emphasis of the blue print is the call for increasing economic production and political stability. The Communiqué argues that “whenever we maintain society’s necessary political stability and work according to objective economic law, our national economy advances steadily and at a high speed. But what does objective economic law” really mean? In the following discussion, we would suggest that it actually means the lifting of political influence of the State/Party from the field of production. It is also the separation of the field of production from the field of symbolic control. According to this argument, there is an inner logic within the field of production which cannot be “altered” by political practices. From this point of view, to obey objective economic law means to shift from “over-concentration of authority” so that “the local authorities and

industrial and agricultural enterprises will have greater power of decision in management under the guidance of unified planning.”

The government still owns ultimate control but more decisions may be made at lower levels.

For example, the document calls political reform by suggesting to strengthen the socialist legal system so that “democracy is systematised and written into law in such a way as to ensure the stability, continuity and full authority of this democratic system”. It must be noted that now the authority of socialist democracy is to be defended not on a political basis, but on a legal basis; not on the basis of class struggle, but on the basis of unity and stability.

But what is the ideological basis of this recipe for changes? Where does it come from? What is the unity of the discourse of socialist development alongside the apparent breakaway of strategy of economic development?

A very fundamental basis for this shift of ideology is the



drive for economic development. As Schram has pointed out, economic development has been a goal shared by virtually all Chinese elite for nearly a century (Schram, 1984:13). Even during the Cultural Revolution, Mao's argument for the fusion of the field of production and the field of symbolic control was in fact to liberate productive power from the political control of the revisionists.

The issue on the political agenda has always been how to achieve economic development. From the point of view of this research, the shift in ideology has served to redefine the relationship between the State and intellectuals, an issue to which we are turning to.

### **3.3.3 The Theory Conference and the Beijing Spring Movement-1978- 1979: the Emergence of Regulated Individualism**

As we shall argue below and indeed throughout the whole thesis, the changes of the relationship between intellectuals and the State in 1980 is an important feature of the reform the CCP embarked upon.

As reported by Goldman (Goldman, 1991), immediately after the Eleventh Plenum, Hu Yaobang, the then Party Secretary was asked to convene a large scale theory conference, which was attended by over two hundred participants with a series of meetings which took place between mid January and February in 1979. Participants of the conference were mainly intellectuals within the political establishment. They included Hu's associates in the Central Party School, newspaper editors e.g. Wang Ruoshui from *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) [22], and *Guangming Daily* (Light Daily); Su Shaozhi, the director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought [23], together with his associates; Yan Jiaqi, who was about to become the first director of the Political Science Institute of Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS) [24]; Liao Gailong [25]; Li Honglin, a veteran theorist in

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22 In 1980, Wang Ruoshui wrote a paper, entitled *On the Problem of Alienation*, which triggered off an important ideological debate until 1984 on the possibility of alienation in a socialist country. In the end, Wang was dismissed from his post of associate editor with *Renmin Ribao*

23 Su was one of the several authors who proposed the idea that China was still in the primary stage of communism. The idea was adopted as the official idea in 1987 by the Thirteenth Party Congress. Su escaped to the States after the Tiananmen crackdown of democracy movement in 1989.

24 Yan later joined the think tank organised by Zhao Ziyang, the



economics; Bao Tong [26]; influential literary intellectuals like Liu Binyan, Wang Ruowang and Baihua [27]; outspoken scientists like Feng Lizhi and his wife Li Shuxian [28]. On the whole, in Goldman's term, the conference was mainly attended by the "democratic elites", despite the fact that conservative ideologues in the Party like Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun also attended the conference. This was how Goldman described the conference.

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- Chinese Premier who was purged after the Tiananmen crackdown for the reform of political system in China.
- 25 Liao was described by Schram "as one of Deng's most eloquent spokesmen". (Schram, 1984:10)
- 26 Bao later became an adviser to Zhao Ziyang. He was the highest rank official imprisoned after the Tiananmen crackdown.
- 27 Liu was an influential reporter with *Renmin Ribao* and was famous in writing investigative stories for the newspaper. Liu was among the three dismissed from the Party in 1987 as a result of their outspoken views. Liu was a visiting scholar in the States during Tiananmen democracy movement crackdown and never went back to China.
- 28 Feng was described by the West as the Chinese Sakarov. He and his wife were alleged to have been the intellectuals behind the students in the Tiananmen democracy movement. They went to the American Embassy after the crackdown and a few months later were permitted by the Chinese Government to leave the country.



“The theory conference ... was a turning point in the history of the People’s Republic of China. For the first time at an official forum, Mao Zedong’s thought was rejected and demands were made for fundamental political reform of the Leninist system of democratic centralism. The exponents of these views were a network of intellectuals associated with Hu Yaobang” (Goldman, 1991:219).

According to Goldman, Hu did not only maintain good relationship with the establishment intellectuals, but also maintained informal connections with intellectuals active in the democratic movement outside the official circles. At the same time, when Hu was presiding over the theory conference, the call by the Government for new ideas triggered off what the West often refer to the Beijing Spring and the Democracy Wall Movement. Basically, the “movement” was no more than some unorganised activists expressing different types of demand through the publication of pamphlets and wallposters (called big character poster in China). The most famous wallposter was the one written by Wei Jinsheng, who called for the fifth modernisation, i.e. democracy in China. Deng and Hu at first welcomed this movement because the movement was clearly on the side of the

“seek truth from facts” faction.

During the later half of 1978 and early half of 1979, Chinese society was optimistic because the Government and the democratic activists in the wider society were both engaged in various discussions about an open minded search for the next step forward for China. The “whateverists” were clearly discredited. However, when it was perceived that some people were using this opportunity to challenge the legitimacy of the CCP and socialism, [29] one day after the arrest of Wei Jinsheng, Deng announced his famous four Cardinal Principles [30] on 30, March 1979.

We would suggest that it is here we witness the emergence of what we shall call regulated individualism.

Reforms in the Post-Cultural Revolution era means that socialism, in the form of radical collectivism, can be rectified but

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29 This is a view expressed by Liu Gailong, regarded as a spokesman for Deng, when interviewed by Schram in October 1981 (Schram, 1984:10).

30 The Four Cardinal Principles are: to uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the Communist

should not be abandoned. In the words of Tsou, this is a “retreat of politics as reflected in ideological discourse” (Tsou, 1986:151-159). He then goes on to discuss the emergence of a socio-political structure in Chinese politics after the Cultural Revolution.

Following this line of argument we can ask if political positions are now no longer the sole positions in ideological discourse? What are the newly accepted positions then? In the field of education, this means that there is a need to examine the nature of the dynamics as education is now regarded by the state as more than the transmission of political ideology. At the same time, an element of individualistic values is injected into the existing collectivistic values. A new balance between the individuals and the collective must be created to legitimate the new ideological position.

In the economic field, modernisation was expected to lead to a form of entrepreneurialism that creates an economic space for individuals, firms and geographical regions. These entrepreneurial forms were to be recognized by the Party as an

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Party, and the Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought.



important strategy for raising the material level of the society. These new forms entailed a new tolerance of the Party for the space an individual can construct in the economic arena. This new balance between individual and collective creates a greater but still limited autonomy for individuals. We refer to this change in the balance as regulated individualism. However, this does not mean the recognition of individualism as understood in the Western sense. Indeed, Western individualism is still very much rejected by the Party [31]. Individualism is not recognised as a moral principle but as a conditional strategy. Regulated individualism may well be, from the point of view of the Party, an outcome of the modernisation project. For some, this space represents a potential for legitimating more intensive involvement for a civil society. Thus new conflicts are created in the move from an ideology of traditional collectivism to an ideology of regulated individualism.

Regulated individualism refers to the new role of individuals tolerated by the Party in the fields of economics and

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31 For example, the Party blames the wide spread of bourgeoisie liberalism on the democratic movement in the summer of 1989.

education [32]. It may well be the case that even in these two different fields, there are different forms of regulated individualism. In the economic field, it refers to the emergence of individual traders and manufacturers as agents of new forms of production activities. In the field of education, it refers to the recognition of individual space in the transmission process, although it alerts individuals to the danger of abusing this newly recognised conditional autonomy. It creates conflicts with the ideology of traditional collectivism because regulated individualism stresses certain extent of autonomy for individuals. The Party recognises it as an important strategy for raising the material level of the society. Individualism is not recognised as a moral principle, but as a conditional strategy which supposedly lead to an increase in the rate of production. Thus regulated individualism implies that there is no such thing called the inherent right of individuals. It is only legitimised if and only if placed in the new context of the individual-collectivist relationship.

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32      In this thesis, the field of education is taken an important site in the field of symbolic control.

The abandoning of radical collectivism, the prevailing ideological orientation during the Cultural Revolution, means that the homogeneity of ideological positioning ceases to exist. However, this new form of individualism is not to be accepted in its own right. It has created problems for the state, which led to certain ambivalent positions of the State with regard to the control of this emerging individualism. Goldman describes Chinese society in the early 80's as being in a state of "political openness, literary repression" (Goldman, 1994:62-87). Schram suggests that the extent to which "freedom or democracy Deng [is] prepared to accept" is circumscribed by both "internal" and "external" constraints. By "internal", he means "limits set by the balance within the Party and especially within the top leadership" (Schram, 1986:8). The lefties represent the conservative voice and often acted as patrons of traditional collectivism. By "external", he means "the limitations set by the ideas or instinctive reactions of Deng Xiaopeng himself and of other partisans of reform to their own actions". Thus, "when ... free discussions... appear to be developing a momentum which threatens Party control, he [Deng] himself feels obliged to call a halt" (Schram, 1986:9).



In this thesis, we argue that the emergence of regulated individualism is a response to the new era. We shall now explore the notion of the emerging regulated individualism by firstly discussing the changing relationship between the State and intellectuals, and secondly changes in the policy and discourse of moral education as announced by the State.

### **3.3.4 Changing Relationship between the State and Intellectuals**

Goldman (1985) chooses the phrase “the zigs and zags in the treatment of intellectuals” to describe the relationship between the State and intellectuals in the Deng’s reform era. Indeed, the same description can also be used to describe the relationship since 1949. As discussed above, intellectuals during the Cultural Revolution were denounced if they did not follow the path of “revolutionary intellectuals”. After the Cultural Revolution, one of Deng’s first acts was to (re)create a conditional and limited space for intellectual activities. Academic work could then be given a legitimate status at one time, but at another time, the same piece of academic work might be regarded as potentially dangerous to the State by the same regime. On the other hand,

Chinese intellectuals do have a tradition of offering advice to the Imperial State, and at the same time, playing a dissenting role (Grieder, 1981; Goldman, 1981). This situation is neatly summed up by a Chinese scholar, who says that,

“On the one hand they [the intellectuals] performed a social role as legitimisers and interpreters of the prevailing social ideological order, whilst on the other (whether consciously or unconsciously) they questioned and challenged the ideological framework within which they operated. Their dual role led to tension between themselves and the authorities, as they claimed to uphold official ideology based on the Four Cardinal Principles but continued to pursue an independent quest for a new political legitimacy.” (Lin, 1992)

Such a contradiction after the Cultural Revolution has resulted in a change in the control of the State over the production of discourses. In this thesis, we consider that **in the era of Post-Cultural Revolution, the control of the State over the production of discourse has shifted from that over the principle of the production of discourses to that over the management of their production.** This change, from the point of view of our research, is a crucial feature of the Post Cultural Revolution Reform. A number



of controversial issues during the 80's could be used to illustrate this change, which could only happen because of the constant shifts in the relationship between intellectuals and the State.

The first issue is over Bai Hua, the controversial playwright from the Army. His controversial film, *Unrequited Love* (Kulian), is about an intellectual who dedicates himself entirely to China but has been treated brutally by the State. In the film, the daughter of this dedicated intellectual asks, "you loved this country of ours so much ... Does this country love you?" The film does not give an answer to this question, but the film ends with a symbol marking the death of the intellectual. His body posture forms a big question mark in the snow and offers a symbolic but powerful challenge to the one-way dedication of intellectuals to the State. Deng and the military leaders were annoyed. In March 1981, Deng was reported to have given permission for the launching of public criticism of Bai because "the issue involved is the upholding of the Four Cardinal Principles." (Goldman, 1994:91) A fierce attack on Bai Hua was then launched in various newspapers and forums. It was reported that Hu Yaobang initially told a conference that a



distinction should be made between criticising literary work and its author (Tsou, 1986: 228). However, when Deng attacked the “lax and weak” leadership of the Party over ideological and literary works, Hu had to change his tone by announcing his condemnation of *Unrequited Love* as “being harmful to the people and socialism”. At the same time, Hu also praised good pieces written by Bai in the past. The campaign ended with the publication of Bai’s self-criticism in December 1981 (Tsou, 1986: 228-231).

Tsou notes that the organisation of the campaign against Bai is very different from those during the Cultural Revolution. As reported above, at the point of exerting control, there is also another point of limiting the extent of condemnation. For example, the campaign has not been upgraded to a wholesale attack on the role of intellectuals in the reform. This is a clear signal that the Party wants to maintain the space given to the intellectuals, yet the Party would not tolerate any intellectuals abusing this newly created space to challenge the State. Moreover, Tsou also notes that not many intellectuals follow the Party ideologues’

condemnation of Bai Hua and even when they do, they only deal with the general issue of “bourgeois liberalisation” and the need to uphold the Four Cardinal Principles. These intellectuals are not seen as supporting Bai. This is clearly very different from the practice during the Cultural Revolution when failure to support the Party’s condemnation in an ideological campaign signifies a silent protest of the on-going campaign or possibly belonging to the same circle and therefore liable for persecution. This time, resistance from the intellectuals is tolerated (Tsou, 1984:235-237).

The second incident, which can be used to illustrate the controversies related to the emergence of regulated individualism is the campaign against spiritual pollution in 1983. Basically it is a campaign launched by the CCP to react against what they see as a concerted move to promote Western bourgeois liberal ideas in Chinese society. For the CCP, there is a clear difference between learning useful ideas from the West and wholesale westernisation. In this particular campaign, the issue at stake is an argument first raised by Wang Ruishui, an associate editor with *Renmin Ribao* (*People’s Daily*) as early as 1980 on the possible existence of

alienation in a socialist nation. For Wang, alienation does not cease to exist in socialism, though its form of existence may be different from that in capitalism. He goes on to identify possible ideological, political and economic alienation in socialism (Brugger and Kelly, 1990:145-6). This has become a contentious issue within various intellectual circles and over six hundred papers have been published in various newspaper and journals (Goldman, 1994:116). Schram concludes that one issue stands out clearly in the whole debate, namely, "Is man the starting point for Marxism?" (Schram, 1984:44) Clearly, this is not only of academic interest among Chinese intellectual Marxists, but also in Western Marxism. But in China, where the State is the arbitrator of the distinction between the thinkable and unthinkable, such a discussion would be regarded as illegitimate when the discussion is likely to be recontextualised in a way which the State sees as rendering potential challenge to the fundamental order it is maintaining.

When Wang raised the issue in August 1980, it was not regarded as contamination. Given that Deng was still in struggle with Hua, the whateverist, the essay could have been regarded by



Deng as supporting his call to rethink the Cultural Revolution.

However, when Wang revised his work in 1983, it was taken as an offensive to socialism by the more conservative ideologues, who then lobbied Deng for the approval of an attack on Wang and his supporters. Deng agreed, without knowing exactly what the theoretical implication of alienation is about (Goldman, 1994:122).

The campaign against spiritual pollution was thus officially launched in a speech made by Wang Zhen, who was a Politburo member and the President of the Central Party School [33] on October 1983. In his speech entitled *Guard against and Remove Spiritual Pollution on the Ideological Front; Raise High the Banner of Marxism and Socialism*, Wang suggested that,

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33 The Central Party School is a political training school reserved for senior cadres. However, one should not have the impression that it is a site for, using our language, traditional collectivism. It is also the place for Hu Yaobang, as the second vice-president for the School to prepare the ideological battle with the “whateverists”.

“There are also those who are constantly propagating so-called ‘socialist alienation’, saying something to the effect that socialism suffers not only from ideological alienation, but from political alienation, and economic alienation. They even go so far to say ‘the roots of alienation are to be found in the socialist system itself’. These views are entirely opposed to Marxist scientific socialism.” (quoted from Schram, 1984:46)

A number of articles followed suit. However, what was supposed to be an ideological campaign among intellectual circles became a social and political campaign against the reform. It became too much for the Party leaders when the grassroots organisation issued directives concerning appropriate dress and hairstyles, and general moral conduct for all citizens. Others began to challenge the emerging responsibility system, a core reform measure advocated by Deng since the early 80’s. The Party thus had to call an end to the issue after one year of confusion. It was signalled by the publication of a paper from Hu Qiaoam, a senior Party ideologue, who

“condemned the application of theory of alienation to socialist society but accepted a compromise in affirming the validity of ‘humanism’ as an ‘ethical principle and moral norm’ within the framework of historical materialism.” (Tsou, 1984:332).

From the point of view of this thesis, the conditionality of academic freedom is clear. Clearly this is not the type of freedom understood in the West, in which the State may only indirectly affect intellectual activity through various forms of public funding and procedures of assessment. In the case of China, the State has always been the patron of intellectuals (Lo, 1991), and hence the recognition of the need to regulate intellectual activities. The problem is only how. After the Cultural Revolution, the control was through an assessment through which the discourse was recontextualised in the light of the practice of the discourse. From this point of view, autonomy is a consequence of the legitimate use of the space made available for intellectuals.

Indeed, from this point of view, intellectuals are able to position themselves in the reform project. Goldman distinguished three types of intellectuals in the Post-Cultural Revolution china.



They are:

- (i) scientists and engineers, who, with the exception of a few [34], are in general more interested in the scientific and technology areas of the reform [35];
- (ii) non-scientific intellectuals, who are contemporary social scientists, literary intellectuals and artists who are told that they have a role to play in the reform projects in China. They are more likely to engage in the official social, scientific, literary and artistic discourses than in the ideological discourse.
- (iii) critical intellectuals who used the opportunity of reform to “challenge the Party’s monopoly of political power (until June 1989)” (Goldman, 1992)

In fact, Goldman does not include establishment intellectuals e.g., Hu Qiaoamun who writes the conciliatory paper on the issue of humanism. In Goldman’s later book, a category of elder’s

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34 The most outspoken scientist in this exceptional category is Fang Lizhi, a very famous astrophysicist who are keen to speak about human rights issue in China.

35 However, Goldman also observed that almost half of the student leaders in the 1989 Beijing democracy movement came from the

intellectual network is included. (Goldman, 1994: p.xv) We shall call members of this network traditional establishment intellectuals, thus adding a fourth category of intellectuals to Goldman's list [36]. Traditionally, before and during the Cultural Revolution, those establishment intellectuals are speakers of State ideological discourse. They do not have their own voice but they know how to speak the voice of State ideology. The reform creates a space for a type of *new establishment intellectuals* who could speak other than the ideological voice. This should not be taken to suggest that the new establishment intellectuals are simply obedient intellectuals who would do whatever they are told by the Party. They do make different types of criticism of, as well as alternative proposals to the State approved policies. In other words, establishment intellectuals are agents of change in the State approved discourse.

Whilst most new establishment intellectuals are happy to contribute their efforts to the goal of modernisation in China

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science discipline. (Goldman, 1992:204)

36 In a way, perhaps it should be the first category in the Goldman list.

within the State's limits of tolerance, some new establishment intellectuals decided that the step forward is political reform and choose to become critical intellectuals. Most of the names included in Goldman's list of critical intellectuals attended the theory conference organised by Hu in 1979 [37]. But when they chose to speak an alternative ideological voice, the voice was simply suppressed by the State. On the other hand, the State itself continued to reform its own political machinery. Reform in areas such as separation of the Party from the State and the continuation of devolving power from the Central Government continues even after the 1989 crackdown of the democracy movement. More and more intellectuals are being involved in the policy making and implementation processes [38] (Burns, 1989; Goldstein, 1995). In his seminal paper, Tsou describes the reform taken by the CCP as middle course (Tsou, 1986). It is, indeed, a *radical* middle course development strategy.

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- 37      The list included Liu Binyan, Wang Ruoshui, Su Shaozhi and Yan Jiaqi. (Goldman, 1992:208)
  - 38      One personal example is that the writer is currently invited to be the consultant to the preparation of minban (private) education law by Education Office, Education, Science, Culture and Public



The discourse advocated by the critical intellectuals almost comes to an end after the crackdown of the democratic movement in June 1989. Most of the Tiananmen activists have gone to the US. Even when some chose to stay in China, the intellectuals turn to non-ideological confrontation activities. In a follow-up study of intellectual lives after the 1989 democracy movement, Goldman (1996) reports that there are more and more cultural activities e.g. non-official literature, art, music and various forms of popular culture [39] in non-confrontational areas (Goldman, 1996).

### 3.4 An Emerging Civil Society?

Recently, there has been a drive to conceptualise social and political changes in Eastern Europe and Post-Cultural Revolution in China in terms of an emerging civil society. In a recent paper on China's own discourse on civil society, the author of the paper first gives seven names, ranging from Havel to Habermas, which are

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39 Health Committee, National People's Congress.  
By 1994, China had about 560 publishing houses, 8,000 periodicals, more than 2,100 newspapers and over 300 audio-visual companies. More surprisingly, three-quarters of the media outlets were non-official (Goldman, 1996:21). The Party simply could not exercise a blanket ideological censorship.

said to have contributed to the development of the concept of civil society. The author then goes on to give a list of twenty names of Western sociologists, who are said to be associated with the issues of emerging civil society in the Post-Cultural Revolution China (Ma, 1994:180-181).

Most discussions on the [possible] “emerging” civil society in China start from the fact that the State limits its own control over production as a strategy of modernisation. For example, Unger (1996) calls for the need to understand the “bridges” between the Chinese Government and private business that mushroomed as “new associations” during the 80’s.

While noting that “the principle of a fully autonomous and self-regulating social organisation has not been formally recognised”, White identifies several forms of “civil society constellation” (White, 1996). The first is what he calls “the caged sector”, which refers to traditionally mass organisations (*qunzhong zuzhi*), like All China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU). On the other hand, organisations like Women’s Federation and Young Communist League have always been “satellite” organisations for



the CCP. White observes that there is a new surge from within organisations like ACFTU to dissociate from the CCP in order to handle problems posed by more and more non-State sector enterprises (White, 1996:208). The second sub-type is what he calls the incorporated sector. These are new organisations created or emerge but recognised by the State as a formal link between the State and the relevant economic, social and cultural spheres of activities. The third type is what he calls “the interstitial ‘limbo’ world of civil society”, which refers to organisations that are not formally recognised by the State but emerge as a result of more intense interaction among agents in a particular sector of the society. The example that is given is the growth of salons for intellectuals, women organisations and environmental groups. The fourth sub-type is what he calls “the suppressed sector: underground civil society”. By definition, they are organisations that are seen to pose a threat to the State or are simply illegal. Thus, they have to be suppressed. Except for the last category, White observes that the State has been adopting various strategies in accommodating these groups. Four different notions are developed by White to describe the relationship between the State



and these groups: interstitial, tolerated, monitored and suppressed.

In the concluding remarks, White agrees that,

“there is a burgeoning sphere of intermediate social association in China which embodies, in different ways and to different degrees, the basic characteristics of a “civil society” – voluntary participation, self-regulation, and separation from the state. It is equally true that this organisational realm is partial and incipient in the sense that very few of the organisations described embody these characteristics to the full, nor do they operate in a political context which guarantees them the right to do so.” (White, 1996:217)

The diverse nature and the conditional existence of these intermediate organisations make it difficult, and perhaps also misleading to conceptualise the development under the umbrella term “civil society”. Indeed, an association may be recognised at one period of time, yet the decision of the authority may be changed afterwards in the light of changed circumstances. The decision to close down *Economics Weekly* in Beijing by the authority, once regarded as a voice of independent intellectuals, is an example.

Before *Economics Weekly* was taken over in 1988 by the Beijing Social and Economics Institute (BSEI), a private research institute founded by Chen Ziming and Wang Juntao, it was an official newspaper of the Chinese Union of Economic Societies, which White would put it in his first category of mass organisations. It had the usual problem of a Chinese official newspaper: relatively unknown and had low circulation. After it was taken over by BSEI, the newspaper soon established its reputation among the intellectuals and was not regarded as an immediate threat. It was reported that the editors deliberately made the newspaper an independent forum for intellectuals and thus dissociated themselves from intra-party political conflicts. For example, the editors preferred offering commentaries, to advising the reformers within the establishment. During the Tiananmen protest movement between May and June, 1989, however, the newspaper played a double role: “critical commentaries of the party-state’s policies and interpreters of the implications of the student movement”. The result of this strategy was that it was now regarded as a threat to the State and was forced to close down. The two editors were accused of being the

“black hands” [40] of the movement and were sentenced to thirteen years’ of imprisonment [41] (Gu, 1996).

An account of indigenous Chinese discourse on civil society is perhaps even more revealing. It is interesting that Western enthusiasm on the notion of emerging civil society in China has not been echoed by their Chinese counterparts (Ma, 1994:182). Even when there are works published on this issue by the Chinese, the emphasis is always on the need to raise individuals’ awareness of their rights as Chinese individual citizens. Moreover, the concern is to maintain a harmonious relationship between the individuals and the State and not to protect individuals from the tyranny of the State. Ma then observes that the discussion of civil society becomes a dominant concern among the exiled intellectuals after June 1989. Their concern emphasises the autonomy of individuals rather than the raising of consciousness of Chinese citizenship. For Ma, this position is more about political strategy, rather than about academic discourse. From the point of view if

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40 “Black hand” is often used by the Chinese Government to accuse someone of being behind a political conspiracy.



this thesis, the major change in the Post-Cultural Revolution era is the emergence of an officially approved discursive space within the limit of reduced official discourse, rather than the emergence of a discourse of independence and autonomy. The control of the State over the production of discourse has shifted from control over the principle of the production of theories to that over the management of their production. This will be illustrated through a study of the way in which moral education is constructed in the journal, *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*.

### 3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have identified and discussed three phases of development in China since 1949. We argue that the issue has always been about regulating the relationship between the individual and the collective. Three phases of development have been identified:

- (i) 1949 - 1966: traditional collectivism;
- (ii) 1957 - 1978: radical collectivism; and

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41 Both were later released but were immediately sent to foreign

(iii) 1979 - 1993: regulated individualism

In traditional collectivism, the emphasis is upon a total submission of individuals to the State. The roles of individuals are derived from their positions in the collectivity to which they belong. Traditional collectivism leads to an expansion of social, economic and political regulators over individuals. The central issue constructed under traditional collectivism is that of economic development. Education is to provide a corpus of highly trained experts under Liu's programmes.

Mao regards traditional collectivism as potentially dangerous for the socialist project and launched the Cultural Revolution on the ideological basis of radical collectivism. It implies the end of intellectuals' monopoly as producers and disseminators of knowledge. It also leads to a fusion of the distributive rules and recontextualised rules. Hence, knowledge is supposed to be produced and recontextualised in the same site. The dominance of ideological discourse over the society means that educational knowledge is in fact equivalent to political and

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countries under the pretext of seeking medical treatment.

ideological knowledge. There is no discursive autonomy for the development of the content, method and evaluation of education. Content, method and evaluation of education are to be derived from the ideological discourse of Mao. It seems that during the Cultural Revolution there was no opposition voice. However, the voice of traditional collectivism, although suppressed, was not eradicated.

The Cultural Revolution project was abandoned by the CCP after Mao died in 1976. After a few years of ideological struggle, China formally launched its modernisation programme which based upon regulated individualism. We have suggested that in regulated individualism, individuals are allowed some degree of conditional autonomy. Individual space is recognised and accepted as long as it is beneficial to the development of the collectivity. However, when individuals exercises their autonomy, they are not expected to challenge the social and ideological basis of the collectivity. Nonetheless such a retreat generates a new space for discursive development. It might not amount to academic freedom as commonly understood in the West.



However, it creates a space which intellectuals might use to request more autonomy or even challenge the monopoly of political power held by the State. Some intellectuals do use the potential of the space to request greater autonomy or even to challenge the political power of the State. However, the State does not regress to the previous position of radical collectivism. It does not respond by a wholesale repression of intellectuals but targets those who are regarded as sabotaging the Socialist State. From the point of view of this thesis, these intellectuals have in the course of exercising the newly granted conditional autonomy, crossed the line.

Inherent in the newly emerging recontextualisation field is the role of educational theory in the modernisation programme. As political ideology partially retreats from various discourses, intellectuals are beginning to look for new positions, which do not step outside the boundaries of regulative individualism.

A summary of our ideological positions and the comparison between the three phases of policy positions proposed by Sautman

is provided below.

**Table 3.2      A Comparison of Sautman’s Phases of Policy Positions and Ideological Positions Proposed in this Thesis**

CONTENT REDUCED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

(Source: adapted from table 1 in Sautman, Barry, 1991,)

It is important to identify the nature of this newly emerging recontextualisation field as an intrinsic feature of the modernisation project. In this chapter, we have proposed a concept of regulative individualism as the ideological basis of the new recontextualisation field. We shall further explore this concept in the following chapters by examining its realisation through studying how the State regulates the discourse of moral

education as represented in the journal *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* from 1978 - 1993.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### Introducing the Journal and Research Methodology

#### 4.0 Introduction

In the last chapter, we have given the social and ideological contexts in which the empirical work of this research is to be carried out. We have explained how a study of the journal *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* would help us to understand the dilemmas, conflicts and contradictions within the Chinese socialist modernisation project.

In this chapter, we shall give an account of the ways in which this research is carried out. Firstly, we shall give a detailed account of the institutional context of the journal *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. We shall also give an account of the Central Institute for Educational Research (CIER), which publishes the journal. We shall then give a brief description of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. We shall also explain why the choice of the journal will help us to understand the nature of the emerging pedagogic discourse. Secondly, we shall discuss possible methodological limitations in this research and the

methods we employ to deal with the limitations.

#### 4.1 The Institutional Context of Central Institute for Educational Research and *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*

In this section, we shall give a brief introduction to the institutional context of the Central Institute for Educational Research (CIER) and the journal it publishes, *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*.

*Jiaoyu Yanjiu* is published by the Central Institute for Educational Research (CIER). Administratively speaking, CIER is the national research institute on education under the auspices of the then Ministry of Education, renamed as State Education Commission (SEC) in 1985 [42]. CIER was established in 1960, but *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* began to be published only after 1978. This delay happened because during the Cultural Revolution, CIER was regarded by the revolutionaries as “the hereditary land of the

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42 For the reason we shall explain below, there was an attempt to upgrade the political position of the Ministry of Education in 1985 in order for the State Council to have a better control of the country’s educational system. It was named as the State Education Commission, but this attempt was not successful and SEC was renamed as Ministry of Education after the current Premier Zhu Rongzhi took office in mid-1998.

bourgeois". It was said that CIER staff had a difficult time during the Cultural Revolution. In the October 1969, the whole staff team was sent to a May-seventh cadre school [43].

CIER gradually resumed normality after the Cultural Revolution. One of its first tasks was to launch *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, together with hosting and attending educational conferences. The journal sought to reformulate theoretical justifications of the relationship between education and the Chinese society in the new social context of the Four Modernizations. There were signs of success. *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, originally a bi-monthly journal, became a monthly journal in 1981.

The return to normality of educational research institutes, together with the publication of journals on educational theories signifies the re-emergence of the recontextualising field. These are signs of intellectual practices reviving after the Cultural Revolution. Educational theories are now **not only** derivations of

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43      May Seventh Cadre School is the name for those schools established during the Cultural Revolution in the rural areas in remote provinces for the cadres to learn about socialist



Marxist, Maoist and Leninist theories, but also other legitimate methods and sources. The new context in which educational theories are produced, selected, circulated and applied is reflected in the intellectual practices of this emerging field of education.

Crucial to our understanding of the intellectual practices of the emerging intellectual field of education is a content analysis of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. The reasons for this are manifold.

Firstly, the CIER, including the editorial team of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, is by nature a state organ. According to our interview, not all papers submitted would be published by *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* simply because the supply exceeds the publishing capacity. Hence, the selection of articles for publication should reflect the approved editorial policy regulated by official ideology.

Secondly, authors who submit articles are not only Communist Party members. Each issue of the journal, which includes contributions from both within and outside the Party,

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revolutionary spirit through doing hard labour.

should indicate the acceptable range of legitimate orthodox and heterodox positions at least at that particular historical juncture.

We need to situate the Post Cultural Revolution reform project in terms of what happened during the Cultural Revolution. Our view is that the social basis for the Cultural Revolution is a very strongly classified ideology whose content is integrated. During the Cultural Revolution, separate ministries were destroyed and administration went forward on an ad hoc basis. But at the local organisational level, a newly acquired autonomy allowed them to construct their own organisational forms. Departmental autonomy at the organisational level was thus substantial while the autonomy of interpreting the meaning of the official ideology was greatly restricted. Control of levels, organisation and finance of education were dispersed across several ministries and provincial governments. Therefore the message to the participants of the Cultural Revolution is: if you follow the official ideology, you have the right to do whatever you think is right for the advancement of the proletariat revolution. Spirit takes precedence over form. When we look at the

organisation structure of the ministries then and today, we find that education is still not the province of any single ministry. We have perhaps a unique situation where the administration of power over education is not located in one centralised state ministry and yet the centre is the origin of all legitimate practices [44].

In the West, the government passes laws that are prepared, affected and effected by a single ministry or department. Thus whilst the government possesses the power, it is relayed through various ministries. In China, the position is different. Here there is considerable dispersal of administrative power through different ministries of state and different regions. In the case of education, as we have said, the administration of education is dispersed among ministries and regional governments, all of which share the responsibility of the governance of education (Table 4.1). The following is an example.

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44      However, the higher education law endorsed by the National People's Congress in 1998 stipulated that the administration of higher institutions should gradually be transferred to either Provincial Governments or the Ministry of Education.



**Table 4.1      Number of Higher Education Institutions and Their Administering Organisations in China as at 1990**

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Source: Department of Planning and Construction, State Education Commission, 1991, *Education Statistics Yearbook of China*: People's Education Press, pp.22.

Although there were a total of 1075 universities in China in 1990, only 36 universities were directly controlled by the SEC. Other universities were administratively controlled by either other ministries or provincial governments. For example, the Ministry of Transport is authorised to run its own university to train workers to serve that department. The University of Politics and Law is a sub-system of the legal system, rather than a sub-system of the educational system. In the State apparatus, administrative control of education is not centred in any one ministry. Each ministry separately administers sections of the educational system to serve its employees. This de-centralised state organ of education is only possible because of the effective socialisation into the restrictive party ideology.

It appears that the SEC is only responsible for the drawing up of policies, as the administration of the policies is effected through a range of ministries. However, the SEC cannot enforce its policies on the ministries. It has to negotiate and persuade. From this point of view, intrinsic to this state apparatus is the relative autonomy of differently specialised ministries with respect to the administration of education and this has a number of consequences. However, organisationally, state administration apparatuses enjoy only a conditional autonomy. Although each ministry is clearly bound by ideology, it can only resist a specific policy. However once a dispute becomes a political or an ideological issue, this autonomy disappears.

Below we can give an example of the breakdown of the administering agencies of higher educational institutions in the province of Guangdong [45] (Table 4.2).

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45 Guangdong (Canton) province is next to Hong Kong. It is one of the most prosperous coastal provinces that benefit most from the Post Cultural Revolution reform.



Table 4.2      Number of Higher Education Institutions and Their  
Administering Organisations in the Province of  
Guangdong as at 1986

Source: Adapted from *Guangdong Higher Education*, 1988, pp.40-42.

Thus, in Guangdong, only three universities are directly administered by the SEC. These are the so-called "national key point" universities. There are another nine universities under the auspices of other central ministries. For example, one university in Canton has been named after Dr. Sun Yatsun and is administered by the Office for Foreign Chinese of the State Council [46]. These universities are only expected to follow the advice from the provincial government. They are not obliged to

46      The university has been established by the Office for Foreign Chinese of the State Council in Guangdong because the province is traditionally a place where overseas Chinese come back to. It thus serves to symbolise the continuing relationship between



follow its advice. There are another thirty-five higher institutions that are either run by the local and municipal governments or higher education bureau of the provincial government.

This creates a crucial problem for the state: While the centre can propose a policy, the dispersal of the administration of education through several ministries and the relation between the central and provincial government raises the question: how to ensure that a policy is effected? This is, in effect, part of an even wider question: how can Post-Cultural Revolution Educational Reform be effected given no fundamental change in administration?

This is a crucial problem for the State as the Post Cultural Revolution Reform project is based on an ideology which rests on an ambivalent position towards the modernisation programme that we have outlined earlier in this thesis. To be more specific, what apparatus could be created in order to ensure effective relay of the state educational policy under the condition we have

outlined: a fragmented field of sometimes conflicting agencies?

What exist are several sub-fields linked to the particular ministries, or regional government each of which has the limited power to create pedagogic discourse and organisational structure.

It is our view that the state journal's crucial responsibility is to disseminate the Party's educational policy through the editorials and papers the journal publishes which are widely read throughout the country [47]. The journal is read not only by staff and academics in higher education institutions and teacher training colleges, but also by government officials and teachers at all levels of schools. From this point of view, the journal can be regarded as official recontextualising agencies acting upon the selection of papers, authors and editorial policies. In fact, there are hundreds of journals published in China, which are also serving this recontextualising function at various site of this emerging field of education. Almost each province, or normal university publishes journals on general educational studies or specialised

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47      However, this should not be taken to mean that the creation of the journal is an important means to solve the problem of policy implementation. Probably this is not a very effective way to do

disciplines or sectors of education. What we have here is the emergence of an official pedagogic recontextualising field that provides the site for intellectual practices within the constraints of party ideology.

The emergence of an official pedagogic recontextualising field also means the construction of a site for intellectual practices within the constraints of party ideology. We shall discuss the structure and ideological positions and its consequences later in this thesis. Here we shall point out that on the one hand the journal, through its editors, is linked to the state because it is administratively part of the Central Institute for Educational Research and on the other hand, it is accorded some conditional autonomy. We shall be studying through the editorials and published paper the various outcomes of the journal's ambiguous position.

According to Bernstein, educational journals (at least in the West) are located mainly in the pedagogic recontextualising field



(Bernstein, 1986:192). However, we need to depart from this discursive location of research journal in our study. We regard this as an important modification of Bernstein's mapping in his theory of the pedagogic device. In China, the peculiar position of the journal raises an interesting problem for Bernstein's allocation of knowledge to fields. One of the major functions of the journal, because of its close relation to the Party, is to set the limits and orientations for the production of legitimate educational knowledge. In this way, the journal symbolises and represents the line between the unthinkable and thinkable. It is for this reason that we place the journal in the field of the production of discourse.

#### **4.2 Central Institute of Education Research and *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* [48]**

The exact relationship between the SEC and CIER is difficult to describe. The CIER cannot be regarded as the think tank of the SEC because the SEC has established its own policy research unit as its think tank. Nonetheless, the major function of

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48 Information in this section is mainly given during an interview with a researcher working in the CIER. Other information for

the CIER is educational research. The CIER now has more than 300 staff members, of whom 180 are research-related staffs. These researchers belong to various research divisions, some examples of which are:

Division of Education Theory;  
 Division of Educational Psychology;  
 Division of Teaching Methodology;  
 Division of History of Education;  
 Division of Comparative Education;  
 Division of Educational Administration and Management;  
 Division of Higher Education;  
 Division of Vocational/Technical Education;  
 Division of Adult Education;  
 Division of Early Childhood Education;  
 Division of Educational Technology and finally  
 Division of Educational information

It is clear that some of these divisions are established for certain disciplines similar to those in the West, e.g. Comparative Education and Educational Psychology. However, there are other divisions which are similar to what in the West would be called multi-disciplinary study, e.g. adult education and higher education.

Each division has its own division of labour for research

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this part is also sought from my interviews with informants

work. The CIER also has a number of affiliated institutions, of which the Editorial Board of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* is one. Others include the Education Sciences Press. The researchers in the CIER carry out research on their own. They can send articles to *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* or other research journals of their choice.

The editorial board of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* is mainly composed of professional editors, but not research workers. It is divided into several groups of specialised fields so that each submitted article can be allocated to one of the groups according to the problem the article is addressing. As far as we have understood, there is not a process of external refereeing process in deciding whether or not an article should be published. Hence the refereeing process is an internal process. Sometimes it takes several rounds of screening to select the best articles for publication. When articles are potentially controversial or causing the journal trouble, e.g. ideological problems as in most cases, more thorough review will be made. Sometimes experts will be consulted.

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which are close to CIER.



As suggested above, when the journal was founded in 1979, it was published as a bi-monthly journal. The journal became a monthly journal in 1980.

*Jiaoyu Yanjiu* is generally regarded as the most influential, though at the same time, also a rather conservative education journal in the field of education. Its importance is not only derived from the fact that it is published by the CIER. Virtually all our informants in this research and our own contacts with Chinese officials and academics in other researches also agree about its importance. We have been unable to find citation documents which clearly show its importance. However, one paper published in 1991 in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* actually analyses the citation sources of all the papers published in the journal between 1985 and 1989. It is found out that 48.9% of all citations from those papers are from the journal itself, with the next (12.8%) from Marxist and Leninist literature (Yu, 4/91:46-50).

Over the years (1979-1993), *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* has published a total of 3197 papers. On average it publishes about 22 papers per

issue. Thus each issue publishes more papers than other typical Western journals do. Each paper is a little shorter than an average paper published in the West. The editors made it clear in their 1981 editorial that they would like the papers to be between 3000 and 7000 words. Because of the editorial style and use of font, the journal actually looks thinner than other typical Western journals (e.g. British Journal of Sociology of Education).

In the West, almost all journals publish a note to contributors, giving general ideas about the nature of papers which they will accept and specific instructions about details of the publication, e.g. referencing and footnoting style. The editorial board of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* has never published any note concerning these issues. Before 1989, it only published an annual editorial to give a general review about the social and educational situation and to indicate the nature of papers that they would be expecting in that particular year. It seems that the editors are only interested in sharing with their readers and contributors what they are hoping to receive in terms of the content and meaning of the papers, and so no detailed instructions about submission details

are given. In the next chapter, we shall analyse the underlying messages in these editorials. Indeed, we shall argue that the advice given by the editors in the editorials signifies the role of the mediator between the State and intellectuals by way of defining the range of legitimate positions for the production of discourse.

The journal has its own way of classifying the papers into different categories. Every year, the journal's editorial board publishes its own classification of papers in the December issue. This has made it possible to understand the ways in which papers are classified by the journal. In this study, there is no attempt to re-classify the papers, although it is clear that the papers are classified in a system different from that used in the West. Between the period 1979 and 1993, there were 73 categories of paper with a total of 3197 papers, which means that, on average, there are 44 papers published in each category. Of all 73 categories, 20 categories have more than 44 papers, while 52 categories have less than 44 papers published, with one category situated at the median. Some of the names of the classification correspond to the divisions of CIER but others are ad hoc debate and discussion



topics created by the editors in order to highlight certain issues which in the mind of the editorial board require the attention of the readers and contributors.

In this research, we shall be only examining one category of papers published by the journal, namely moral education (to be discussed later).

Various types of educational institutions (schools, universities and local educational authorities) subscribe to the journal, and hence it has contributors from people working and even occasionally research students. There are also occasional contributions from a party unit. It is not difficult to imagine that most of the contributors are themselves Party members because in Socialist China, every university graduate is entitled to be a Party member, unless one comes from a problematic background.

It is still uncommon to have a large number of citations in the journal papers. As we shall explain later in other chapters, only half of the papers published under the category of moral

education contain citations. It is a matter of interest for us to analyse what types of sources are being cited because they are indicators of the recontextualised processes.

### 4.3 Moral Education

We shall now proceed to explain why we have chosen the discourse on moral education as the empirical study of our research on the emerging educational discourse.

In the Chinese ideo-political discourse, moral education is often referred to as spiritual civilisation. It is not easy to explain the meaning of the phrase spiritual civilisation. In the West, the church, for example, diagnoses what is often called the spiritual state of the nation and makes proposals to improve the state. The church, however, is not in a position to effect changes. In the context of contemporary China, the construction and evaluation of spiritual civilisation is made by the Party in the light of the interpretations of Marxist, Maoist and Leninist theory. Thus any change in these interpretations in the Chinese context raises the question about the implication of spiritual civilisation. Therefore a

detailed analysis of the papers in the journal *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* dealing with this issue should shed light on crucial dilemmas arising out of the reform in the political arena, as well as the ways in which these crucial dilemmas lead to the changes of the society.

As suggested above, unlike moral education as a school subject in the West, moral education was regarded, traditionally, as part of ideo-political education. A new era of politics has always been accompanied by renewed calls for new form and content of moral or ideo-political education. Thus, one would not be surprised to find that the launch of modernisation has been accompanied by a new discourse of moral education. Thus in a speech given by Jiang Nanxiang, Minister of Education in 1981, the author calls for the need to “overcome the influence of leftist ideas and do a good job of educational adjustment” (Jiang and Zhang, 1981). This is the language of the reformist. But two years earlier, in May 1979, in the National Conference on Ideological Work in Middle and Primary Schools, Jiang has not given any hint of new thoughts on moral education. He goes only as far as suggesting the need for moral education without explaining what the new



context might be (Jiang, 1979). This is understandable because in May 1979, the conflict between the “whateverists” and “the seeking truth from fact” factions still raged.

According to Schram, the notion of “spiritual civilisation” was formally endorsed and elaborated by Deng in a 1980 speech, in which he suggested,

“What I call spiritual civilisation refers not only to education, science, and culture (although these are essential) but to communist thought, ideals, belief, morality, discipline, a revolutionary standpoint and principles, comradely relations between people and so on...”  
(quoted in Schram, 1984:31).

The notion of spiritual civilization originally means nothing more than an abstract goal of socialist morality. One example of which as illustrated by Liao Gailong, is the tradition of Chinese sacrificing themselves in the interest of their country (Schram, 1984:37). The rapidity of the implementation of the reform policy has led to some fundamental changes in the society. The notion of spiritual civilisation is given more concrete meaning in the light of this new context.

One of the first China researchers in the West to notice the impact of economic reform on the value system is a study of youth values by Stanley Rosen (1985). He notices that by 1984-5, the reform was so successful that traditional communist youth organisations like Communist Youth League (CYL) were in a very difficult situation. Traditionally, the CYL has an important role in offering training ground for youth aspiring for upward political mobility. The launch of the modernisation reform in 1978 resulted in the two basic functions of the CYL - political socialisation and party recruitment being in difficulty (Rosen, 1985:26). Student talent was now defined in terms of the acquisition of scientific, technological and management knowledge embedded in a new modernization discourse, instead of the previous revolutionary socialist discourse. The emergence of the importance of competition also presented new problems to the leadership of the CYL.

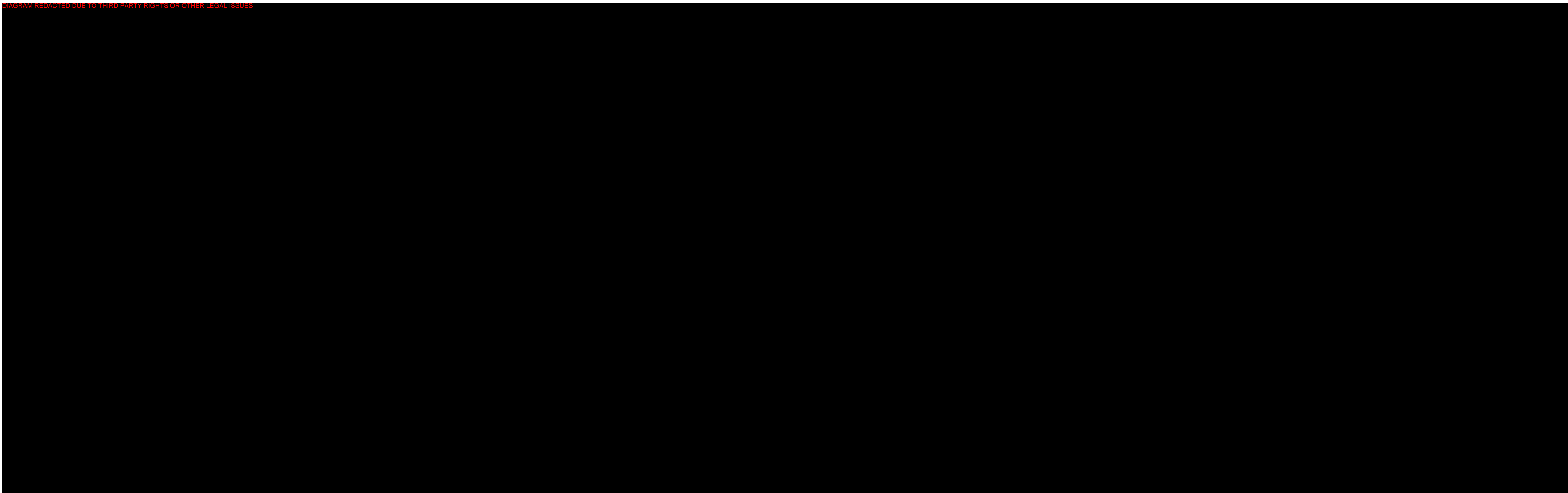
Five years later, Rosen (1990) reported a survey done by the Chinese authority itself, which showed that the emerging notion of individualism as a result of the reform was not unnoticed by the



Chinese authority. Some of the results of the survey are as follows

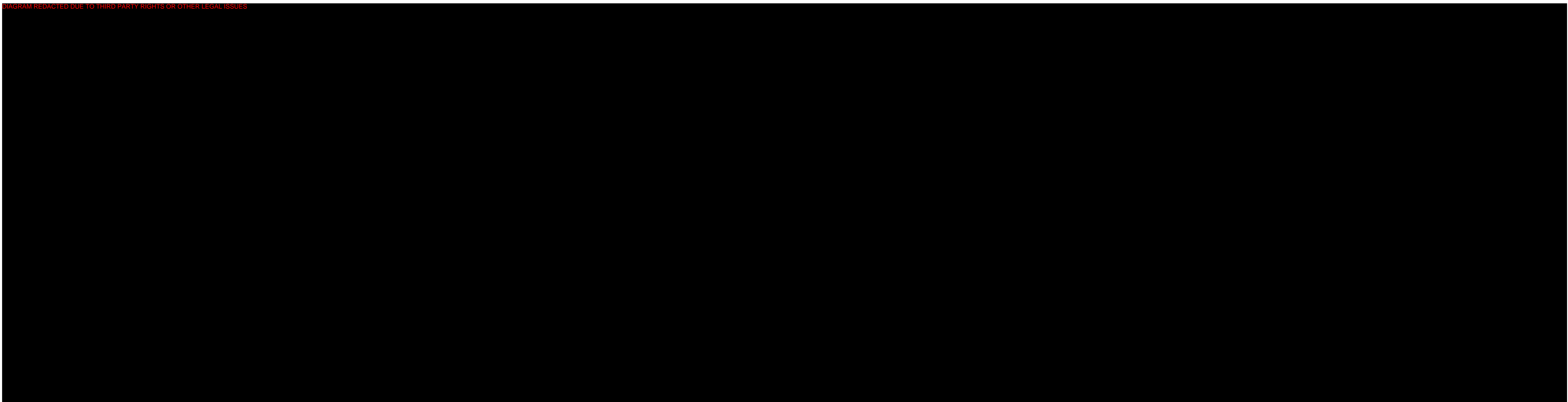
[49]:

Question:     Some of your friends have joined the Party, others are striving to do so. What is your observation and understanding of this?



(source: Rosen, 1990:368) (N=2,063)

Question:     There are two comrades at a university who fall in love; their ardor develops to the point that they decide to live together. Without giving consideration to whether they will marry in the future, what do you think about this?



(source: Rosen, 1990:370) (N=2063)

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49     The survey was carried out under the auspices of the Party Committee of the Shanghai Education Commission. It was given to about two thousand students from 18 Shanghai universities. Shanghai is one of the most developed cities in the coastal area.



The importance of this survey is not so much about the result, but about the fact that the answers were being considered by officials. During the Cultural Revolution, it was also possible for one to question the motive of others to join the Party.

However, the Party then was more interested in handling these issues through the political movement.

Some could argue that the emergence of individualism was a symptom of moral degeneration. However, Cheng reported that changes in the State education system contributed to the emergence of individualism (Cheng, 1994). According to Cheng, the labour market in the reform period was given more flexibility. The previous style of job allocation for university graduates was being phased out. Choice has become a systemic feature for education and the labour market and the notion has acquired an official position in the school syllabus. Thus, Cheng observed that in Shanghai, there was a subject called career guidance in secondary school since 1991. Authors of these textbooks specifically asked the students to know more about themselves. For example, they said, "If we cannot understand ourselves in a

scientific way, we may have difficulties in objectively deciding our orientations in further studies or job selection” (quoted in Cheng, 1994:69).

Clearly the previous mode of moral and ideo-political education has to give way for a revised mode. This has been reflected in the construction of policy for moral education since 1980.

For example, in *A Notice Issued by the CCP Central Committee with Regard to Strengthening Ideological Work in the Countryside*, which was issued in January 1983. The emphasis was on the ideological issues in the field of economics. In the Notice, the notion of the individual was recognised. The document suggested that,

“we must manage the relationship well between the interests of the state, of the collective, and of the individual. We must also handle the relationship well between autonomy and following the guidance of state planning, and the relationship between an individual striving to enrich himself through labor and developing a sense of solidarity and mutual assistance, of having those who get rich first to help those who get rich later, and a sense that we will all get rich together.” (Central Committee, CCP, 1983:18)

In this notice, ideological issues are discussed in the context of the field of economics. Little is said on moral education, except the suggestion that moral education is a very important issue. Then in 1985, there was another notice on ideological character and political theory issued by the CCP Central Committee. In the notice, two third of the content is concerned with the issue of what the curriculum of a Marxist ideology course should be. However, in the third section of the notice, the whole section is devoted to the discussion of appropriate teaching methods for moral and political lessons. First of all, the notice suggests that,



“We must turn from the method of indoctrination in our teaching to a teaching that emphasises enlightenment. We must learn to guide students to enhance their knowledge and understanding through their own studies and by their own thinking, to seek answers to their problems themselves.” (Central Committee, CCP, 1985: 29)

The notice also lays down some guidelines in handling controversial issues. They suggest that teachers might,

“on the premise of upholding the Four Basic Principles, introduce to students, with a serious and scientific attitude, diverse academic and intellectual points of view as well as the teachers’ own viewpoints and opinion, and to express opinions alongside the students and their opinions, thus lead the students, through earnest and absorbing discussions, to master Marxist methods and theoretical principles” (Central Committee, CCP, 1985:30).

This should not be taken to mean legitimating professional freedom for Chinese teachers. Indeed, the advice given clearly suggested that this newly approved space had to be circumscribed

within the premise of the Four Basic Principles [50]. On the other hand, the authority now formally recognises the possibility of individual differences. More importantly, a notion of method has been introduced in this emerging discourse of moral education. Thus any new space that is accorded to this emerging discourse of moral education could now be realised through different teaching methods. We consider that this is likely to privilege an educational voice rather than an ideological voice. Indeed, a later document reveals that the notion of teaching methods is given an increasingly important place in the discourse.

The State Education Commission issued a syllabus for moral and ideological education in primary schools in 1986. The syllabus lays down the specific content for various stages in primary schooling. The last section of the syllabus suggests some “fundamental principles” underpinning the syllabus. Except for the first which is on the importance of upholding communist

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50 In other sections of the thesis, the Four Basic Principles are called the Four Cardinal Principles. However, since the English translation of the document I am discussing here uses the name the Four Basic Principles, these two terms are used interchangeably.

ideology, the other six are about suggestions for different teaching methods. They included paying attention to “surveys and research studies”; organising teaching which correspond to the characteristics and receptivity of students at various levels and insisting on “the elicitation method of teaching” (State Education Commission, 1986, pp. 45-46).

After the June Fourth movement in 1989, the discourse privileges the ideological voice. This is understandable. As discussed above, this new discursive space is conditional and derived from the consequence of a legitimate use of space made available. Thus it is natural for such autonomy to be more restrictive following the crackdown on the democracy movement in 1989. Immediately after this movement, there was a move to introduce a patriotic voice and an emphasis on national conditions in the discourse of moral education. For example, a resolution passed by the Beijing Municipal Committee of CCP concerning the ideological and political work of the Party in October 1989 contained this statement,



“education integrates the education of the conditions of the nation, with education in the market conditions, and education with regard to current trends, tasks, and missions, as well as with the realities and practicalities of thought and ideology among the masses.”  
(Beijing Municipal Committee, CCP, 1989)

Several months later, there was a change. At a working conference of the State Education Commission, the Deputy Commissioner, He Dongcheng reminded the conference members that it was necessary for moral education to be based upon the developmental stages of the students. Thus teaching should proceed from easy to difficult, from the fact to the lessons that should be learnt. There is also a need to organize teaching in a more lively way (China Education News, 23 Jan 1990). Principles of moral education have moved from an ideological to a pedagogical principle.

#### **4.4 The Discourse on Moral Education as Presented in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu***

In *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, notions like “spiritual civilization”, “moral education” and “political and ideological education” are used

almost interchangeably. In the editorials issued by the editorial board in every January editions of the journal between 1979 and 1989, the term spiritual civilization is used to denote the importance of the ideological aspect of the issue of moral education. Here it refers to the general aspects of the issue. However, papers published by *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* on this aspect do not take the notion spiritual civilization as the title. The issue of spiritual civilization has in fact been fully dealt with under the category Moral Education, Aesthetic Education, Physical Education and Labour Education [51]. After 1989, terms like moral education and political and ideological education were used. In 1990 and 1991, the term ideological and political education was used as the name of this category. In 1992 and 1993, the editors finally called the category moral education. No explanation has been offered for such a change. We have gone through all the titles of the papers published by the journal from 1979 to 1993 under these categories and found out that papers published under

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51 Although this category consists of four topics, the papers are also categorized into four groups within this category. Thus in the category, four sub-groups of papers are put together under one category. This is helpful to our research because we know exactly which papers are regarded by the journal as falling into



these categories are more or less the same [52]. We consider that the change of names actually reflects the ways in which the development of this particular domain is perceived by the editors.

In this thesis, the analysis of the general development of the discourse on moral education is made tracing the background of the authors of the papers published under this category and the sources of citations used in the papers. An analysis of the substantive arguments developed in the papers for this category of knowledge will be given in a later paper.

We shall now outline the general development of the discourse on moral education as reflected in the papers published in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. A total of 232 papers on moral education were published by *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* between 1979, when it was founded, and 1993 (Table 4.3).

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the category of moral education.

52 For the sake of the simplification of naming, in this chapter we shall follow the practice of the editors to discuss the general issue of moral, ideological and political education under the broad name of spiritual civilization.



Table 4.3      Number of Papers Published in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* under the Category Moral Education

| Year  | Number of papers on moral education | Percentage of share of publication in that year |
|-------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1979  | 1                                   | 1.0%  |
| 1980  | 1                                   | 1.2%  |
| 1981  | 37                                  | 12.9%   |
| 1982  | 27                                  | 10.9%   |
| 1983  | 18                                  | 8.5%  |
| 1984  | 15                                  | 7.5%  |
| 1985  | 13                                  | 6.4%  |
| 1986  | 12                                  | 4.5%  |
| 1987  | 11                                  | 4.1%  |
| 1988  | 18                                  | 7.9%  |
| 1989  | 19                                  | 8.3%  |
| 1990  | 19                                  | 8.2%  |
| 1991  | 20                                  | 8.7%  |
| 1992  | 12                                  | 6.0%  |
| 1993  | 9                                   | 4.4%  |
| Total | 232                                 | 7.3%  |

From table 4.3, it is clear that the issue “moral education” has been an important category on the agenda of educational research between 1980 and 1993, with the exception of the years 1979 and 1980.

Moreover, from table 4.3 we notice that, between 1979 and 1993, the percentage share of moral education in the total number of papers published by the journal declines, despite the apparent

interruption between 1988 and 1991. This trend of decline in the number of essays should be seen as an indicator of the development of various sub-disciplines within the field of education. Since the number of papers published in each issue is more or less the same each year, the more the sub-disciplines of the field are developed, the less the percentage share of each category published in the journal each year.

A simple count of the number of papers published under various categories over the period between 1979 and 1993 shows that moral education is one of the largest single categories of educational issues and perspectives published in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. Between 1979 and 1993, only the categories *General* and *Curriculum, Teaching Materials, Teaching and Learning Methods* have published one more paper than the category *Moral Education* (Table 4.4).



Table 4.4      The Top Ten Largest Category of Paper in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*

| Order                 | Category  | No. of papers published between 78 and 93 |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| 1                     | General   | 233                                       |
| 1                     | Curriculum, Teaching Materials, Teaching & Learning Methods | 233                                       |
| 2                     | <b>Moral Education</b>                                      | <b>232</b>                                |
| 3                     | Theories of Teaching  | 222                                       |
| 4                     | History of Education  | 200                                       |
| 5                     | Academic Activities   | 187                                       |
| 6                     | Educational Theory  | 165                                       |
| 7                     | Education in Other Countries                                | 151                                       |
| 8                     | Psychology of Education                                     | 144                                       |
| 9                     | Higher Education  | 107                                       |
| Total Number of Paper |   | 1874(59%)*                                |

\* percentage of share of the total number of paper published in all categories over the same period.

4.5      Procedure of the Research

Our analysis of the institutional position of the journal *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* has led us to adopt a research procedure that is different from that is traditionally adopted in sociology of science. Traditional approaches especially sociology of science look at any field of study as a whole and then adopt quantitative analysis to analyse the ways in which different approaches and disciplines emerge and decline in its field of study. We find this form of analysis not applicable to our problem. First of all, as discussed in



the last chapter, the discourse of education has to be seen in terms of the dynamics between the State and the intellectual field. Thus, the legitimate ideological parameters for the discourse of education may be changed as a result of ideological conflicts within the State. Specifically, this research will be divided into the following two phases:

(1) An Analysis of the editorials

We have already proposed that the journal plays a mediating role between the State and the intellectuals. In this research, we regard the editorials written by the editors as an important indicator in relaying the ideological messages for the State. Hence, the editorials will be our object of analysis. The framework of analysis will be given in the relevant chapters.

(2) Analysis of moral education papers

The actual analysis is done in two stages.

(2a) The general description of the discourse on moral education as presented in the paper.

As we have suggested above, the journal has contributions from various educational institutions. We shall analyse the institutional affiliation of the authors and the form of citations they use in the papers.

(2b) The development of the discourse on moral education.

We shall then analyse the development of the discourse on moral education over the period of our research. Again, a framework is devised to help us to understand the movement of discursive positions over the years and how they are related to ideological changes in the wider society and their relationship with what we have inferred from the editors as their regulation of the discourse.

## **4.6 The Methodological Issues in the Thesis**

In this section, we are going to discuss the methodological issues in this thesis. The order of discussion below does not represent the order of importance.

#### **4.6.1 Only One Domain of the Pedagogic Discourse is Examined**

It is a fact that only one domain of the emerging pedagogic discourse is examined and used as a critical case to illustrate the process whereby the pedagogic discourse is separated from the ideological discourse to gain its status of conditional autonomy. The choice for such a domain is not made by random selection. It has been chosen as a result of deduction from our theoretical analysis of the emerging pedagogic discourse in China. In this research, we consider that the domain of moral education is crucial in exploring the nature of the emerging pedagogic discourse. In our analysis of the editorials, which we shall present in the next two chapters, we are going to demonstrate the importance of spiritual civilization in all the editors' appeal to the authors and readers throughout the 80's. The emphasis of the importance of moral education, from the point of view of the analysis of this thesis, thus signifies the changes of the form and content of political and educational ideology in the Post-Cultural Revolution reform. From this point of view, it is natural for the educational system to reform the pedagogic discourse of moral education



inherited from the abandoned project of the Cultural Revolution. Furthermore, we have also demonstrated that the category of moral education is the third largest category of papers published in the journal *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* with the number of papers in the category being just one less than the first and second largest categories of papers.

We have already reported that, in this journal, there are more than fifties categories of papers. Furthermore, there are currently tens and hundreds of journals on education published by various higher institutions in China. It is a matter of interest for us to examine whether the results and trends detected in this research could be replicated in other domains of the emerging pedagogic discourse. Nonetheless our examination of the domain of moral education has proved to our satisfaction that the nature of the emerging pedagogic discourse can be detected and analysed. Indeed, we consider that the methods of research we develop in this thesis can be applied to research on other domains of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*.

#### **4.6.2 Role of Individual Authors in the Measurement of the Discourse**

Given the fact that the journal has published 232 papers between 1979 and 1993 on moral education, the domain itself is not a small one. However, when the domain is discussed in terms of various author categories, citation sources and various combinations of discursive orientations over the years, each cell in any particular year may not be a big one. From this point of view, when some trends are presented as changes of percentage across, for example, various author categories within the same year, or across a number of years, large changes in percentage can arise on the basis of small changes in numbers.

#### **4.6.3 The Editorial Policy of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu***

It is also true that in the course of carrying out the research, we do not have full access to the functioning of editorial board of the journal. This is not fatal to making a rational analysis on the journal papers, as the research is more concerned with the extent to which the emerging pedagogic discourse is legitimated within the ideological parameters constructed and maintained by the

State. Thus, anything that was published during the period of our study, from the point of view of our research, denotes a position falls within the officially approved discourse.

From various sources, which include interviews with editorial board members and scholars whose papers have been published by the journal, as well as from the journal papers themselves; we have gathered some information about the editorial board. For example, we learn from an interview that most of the editorial board members are journalists and not researchers by training. It means that most of the regulators of the field do not come from the field itself. This does not mean that they cannot be good editors of the journal. However, the social origins of any research journal do have implications for what is to be counted as legitimate knowledge and published by the journal.

From our interview, we also learn that the journal has an acceptance rate of 16%. However, we do not have access to the rejected papers. It is also very likely that the rejected papers will not be categorized. This means that moral education is a large



category only in terms of the published paper but we do not know whether it remains a large category when calculated in terms of the submitted papers. There is also a further possibility that some papers are sent in by invitation, thus the paper may have gone through a different process of refereeing, either ideological or academic, or even both. Given our hypothesis that the journal editors act as a mediator between the State and the intellectuals, it may well be the case that the magnitude of the category denotes the importance of the category in the eyes of the editorial board of the journal, rather than the merits of the papers themselves.

#### **4.6.4 Years of Interruption in the Trend of Development**

The lack of access to the functioning of the editorial board also means that we do not know the actual time lag for a paper to be received, refereed and then published by the journal. This has constrained the analysis that we could make by reading the papers in the light of the ideological movement in the wider society.

Although we know that the editorials can be an index for the editors to advise what should be produced in the light of the ideological movement in the wider society, thus making possible

the suggestion of an annual cycle of such a movement, events during the years would certainly blur the distinction of any two years. This means that at the macro level, we are still able to describe changes of ideological movement as indexed in the editorials, and then compare such changes with the discursive orientations of the papers in a yearly cycle. However, at the micro level, not every indicator can be examined in an annual cycle.

#### **4.6.5 The Problem of Ideological Movements**

The thesis is produced on the basis of an analysis of the dominant ideological orientations before, during and after the Cultural Revolution. Basically we consider that the dominant ideological principle at each period of time is traditional collectivism, revolutionary collectivism and regulated individualism respectively. Details of the formulation of the ideological orientations will be given in the thesis. However, as the Post-Cultural Revolution reform is initiated on the basis of reverting what the Cultural Revolution has done to China, we consider that the journal editors will not regard a position on Revolutionary Collectivism as a legitimate position across our

period of research. As a result, we do not expect to find any papers celebrating the notion of Revolutionary Collectivism in the journal.

#### 4.6.6 The Problem of Validity

We need to acknowledge the fact that the papers we are analysing in this thesis are written in Chinese, while the supervisor and indeed the examiners for this thesis do not read Chinese. In a way, the problem is inevitable because the thesis is about applying the theories developed by Bernstein to the Chinese discourse on moral education. This leads to the problem of whether the judgement about the nature of the discourse on moral education as expressed in the text of the papers is valid.

We have taken the following measures to tackle the problem. First, in the thesis, whenever appropriate we have translated sections of the papers written on moral education. This is to enable readers of this thesis to have a more holistic way of understanding how and why we are making the interpretation of the texts in a particular way. This is especially the case in the analysis of editorials published by the journal. In a way, this is a



strategy for socializing the readers into our reading methods in analysing the papers.

Second, we have invited an independent assessor to follow the concepts and definitions used in this thesis and then apply the same definition to classify a sample of the papers used for analysis in this research. The full report of the assessment has been submitted to the examiners and supervisor of this thesis.

## **4.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have explained why we have chosen the discourse of moral education as an example to illustrate the ways in which educational discourse has been developed as a result of the modernization project launched in China in 1978. We have also explained how the relation of the journal to the State has helped us to decide the way to analyse the journal. We shall in the following chapters present the results of our analysis.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Regulating the Discourse of Education: the Editorials

#### 5.0 Introduction

In this chapter we intend to explore the editorial policies as inferred from the editorials the editors of the journal *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* published each year. The editorial board had a tradition of publishing an editorial in each of the January issue of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* except in 1980 and after 1989. Since 1990, the editorial board has not been writing its own editorials. Instead, it publishes in each year's first issue of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* a long list of research areas and topics on which they would like the researchers and theoreticians to concentrate. No reasons are given for stopping to write the editorials by the editorial board.

In this research, we consider that the editorial practices of the journal are constituted by the editorial board which announces its priority of concerns in the editorials it publishes each year, organises debates on relevant issues to which they attach great

importance and select articles for publication in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. The first can be regarded as announced editorial practices while the second and the third can be regarded as the actual editorial practices. Overall this reflects the ways in which the editorial board of the journal attempts to regulate the production of discourse in this emerging field of education.

We shall position the analysis of the journal in the complexities of the ideological context after the Cultural Revolution and the following decade. In chapter three, we have already discussed the overall ideological context for intellectual practices in the Chinese society in the Post Cultural Revolution reform era. In this chapter, we shall first discuss the nature of the new role of the editors as the regulators of intellectual practices for the modernization project. Afterwards we shall explain the analytical framework for analysing the editorials. This will then be followed by the results of our analysis.



## 5.1 The Disseminator Role for the State

From the point of view of this research, the editorial team of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* has a double institutional task. On the one hand, the Post-Cultural Revolution project entails a stronger systemic relationship between education and production than that during the Cultural Revolution. Since it is now recognized that educational development is crucial to the modernization project, the field of education has to be "activated" [53]. Intellectuals are clearly crucial to educational development. On the other hand, there is a limit to the extent that the liberalization function can be carried out by the journal. Although the journal is administratively part of the state organ, the editorial does not relay ideological messages directly due to its double task [54].

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53 For example, the Twelfth Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in September 1982, specifically suggested that education is crucial to the modernization programme. In essence, the importance of education was thought of as producing professionals and experts for the modernization programmes, as well as cultivating socialist spiritual civilization.

54 On certain occasions, when it is necessary for a more explicit ideological message to be relayed to the field of education, the journal will publish articles written by a special invited commentator, who is usually a senior party ideologue. One example of this is a commentary published in April 1979. The commentary is an ideological critique of the assessment of the

However, ideological and political changes do shape the emerging intellectual field of education by imposing constraints on and/or providing impetus to the development of the fields. Generally speaking, ideological conflicts within the field of state will lead to more constraints on intellectual practices in the emerging field of education while consensus in the field of state will provide impetus for developments for intellectual practices in the emerging intellectual field of education.

## 5.2 Regulating the production of discourse: the role of the editors

In the first section, we have specified the ambivalent field location of the editorial board of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* in the field of education. In a nutshell, the editorial board is both the new regulator and the initiator of intellectual practices in the emerging field of education recreated by the State after the Cultural Revolution. It does not merely act as the State agent to guide the development of intellectual practices in the emerging field of

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Gang of Four. It criticizes severely how wrong it is for the Gang of Four to suggest that education before the Cultural Revolution is a total failure. This then acts as the green light for launching



education. It actively takes initiatives for such development. This raises a series of important questions about the features of the nature of its regulatory functions: What is being regulated? What consequences are there for discourses and practices and for whom and what? How does this regulation function? In the following, we shall propose a framework to understand how this regulation functions through a textual analysis of the editorials.

To use the notion of relay and the relayed developed by Bernstein, we know that the relayed is the new reform ideology based on an ambivalent concept of knowledge inherent in the modernization project, but what is the relay that makes the new intellectual practices possible?

To understand the regulatory functions of the journal editorials, the following have to be taken into consideration.

It seems that the task of the journal is to permit and legitimate a space for new positions in the field of education, so

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the ideological critique of the Gang of Four.



that new state educational ideology can inform new pedagogic principles, theories and practices. It can also be a site for inter-communication between the State and the field of education so that advocating new policy initiatives will not be seen as challenging the emerging political and ideological order. The journal is actually a crucial site for inter-communication between the state and the developing field of education. It is also the resource with regulating function for ensuring the new policy initiatives from educationists and the newly granted autonomy does not produce practices which challenge the emerging political and ideological order.

However intrinsic contradictions inherent in the post-Cultural Revolution ideology are carried over to the field of education. In the field of education, we can see that, on one hand, development of the field of education necessitates knowledge about the field itself, as well as knowledge for the progress and development of the field. However, on the other hand, knowledge generated from the newly legitimate positions may constitute a challenge to the existing political order. This has made the issue of

regulation problematic for the editors of the journal.

### 5.3 The Ideological Basis of the Regulation

As suggested above, the regulatory function of the editorial board is based upon placing the reform program in a context where it is both the source and constraint of legitimacy for the production of discourse. There is always the danger of knowledge created on the basis of the newly established positions being regarded by the state as dangerous to the reform itself. Thus the ideological basis of the regulation itself has always been problematic for the journal. We find it useful to distinguish two forms of ideological expression used by the editors to regulate the intellectual activities in the field of education.

The first one is what we shall call “restrictive ideological orientation”. These are ideological statements used by the editorial board to denote the primacy of the state over what constitute intellectual practices in the field of education. This happens when the contradictions inherent in the reform ideology become apparent and there is a need for the State to reduce the

autonomy granted in intellectual practices. The State then imposes what it considers as the appropriate topics, content and form of discussion to emerge from academic analysis. From this perspective, academic discussion must bear a close relationship to the political situation in the wider society. The state plays an explicit regulatory and active role in intellectual practices in the developing field of education. A typical realization of restrictive ideological expression is a warning by the State of dangerous tendencies of certain agenda items in academic discussion. Thus, acting on behalf of the State, the journal editors express concern over the ideo-political implications of certain knowledge formation processes in the emerging intellectual field of education. They will then indicate some "taboo zones", which are forbidden to be explored and elaborated.

The second form is what we shall call "elaborated ideological orientation". This happens when ideological statements made in and by the journal suggest greater discursive autonomy for intellectual practices in the developing field of education. The journal editors identify what they see as the



problems associated with the development of the field of education and propose to address these issues. Although there is still guidance from the journal editors, there is recognition by the editors that producers of discourse of education are to be accorded more power over the selection and the actual realization of the production of knowledge for the field. Moreover, intellectual practices are considered to be bearing a more indirect relation with the political situation in the wider society, but a more direct relation with education within the wider context of the modernization project. Restrictive ideological orientation is proscriptive by nature whereas elaborated ideological orientation is prescriptive by nature.

A crucial implication of “elaborated ideological orientation” is that it confers on knowledge an intrinsic value, i.e. laws of education having intrinsic principles which are relatively autonomous and independent of any political discourse. However, restrictive ideological orientation” subordinate laws of education to political principles. Thus “elaborated ideological orientation” is a fundamental condition for an autonomous discourse of

education and thus for an autonomous field. One important line of analysis will be to examine changes in the ideological expressions of the journal and its relation to the dominant ideology of the Party.

#### **5.4 The Regulatory Function Carried Out by the Journal**

As the journal is the mediator between the State and the field of education, the regulatory function of the journal consists of two components. Firstly, it acts as the relay of the state for the discussion of educational policies, practices and theories in accordance with either of the ideological orientations we have identified above. It carries out this function by relaying party decisions, documents and sayings by very senior figures to the field of education. Messages from these texts are selected, appropriately refocused and then relayed to the readers of the journal. In other words, political messages are recontextualised into the field of education by the journal editors.

We shall in the following set out the principles for recognizing the ideological expressions of the editors as realized in

**the editorials written by the journal editors themselves.**

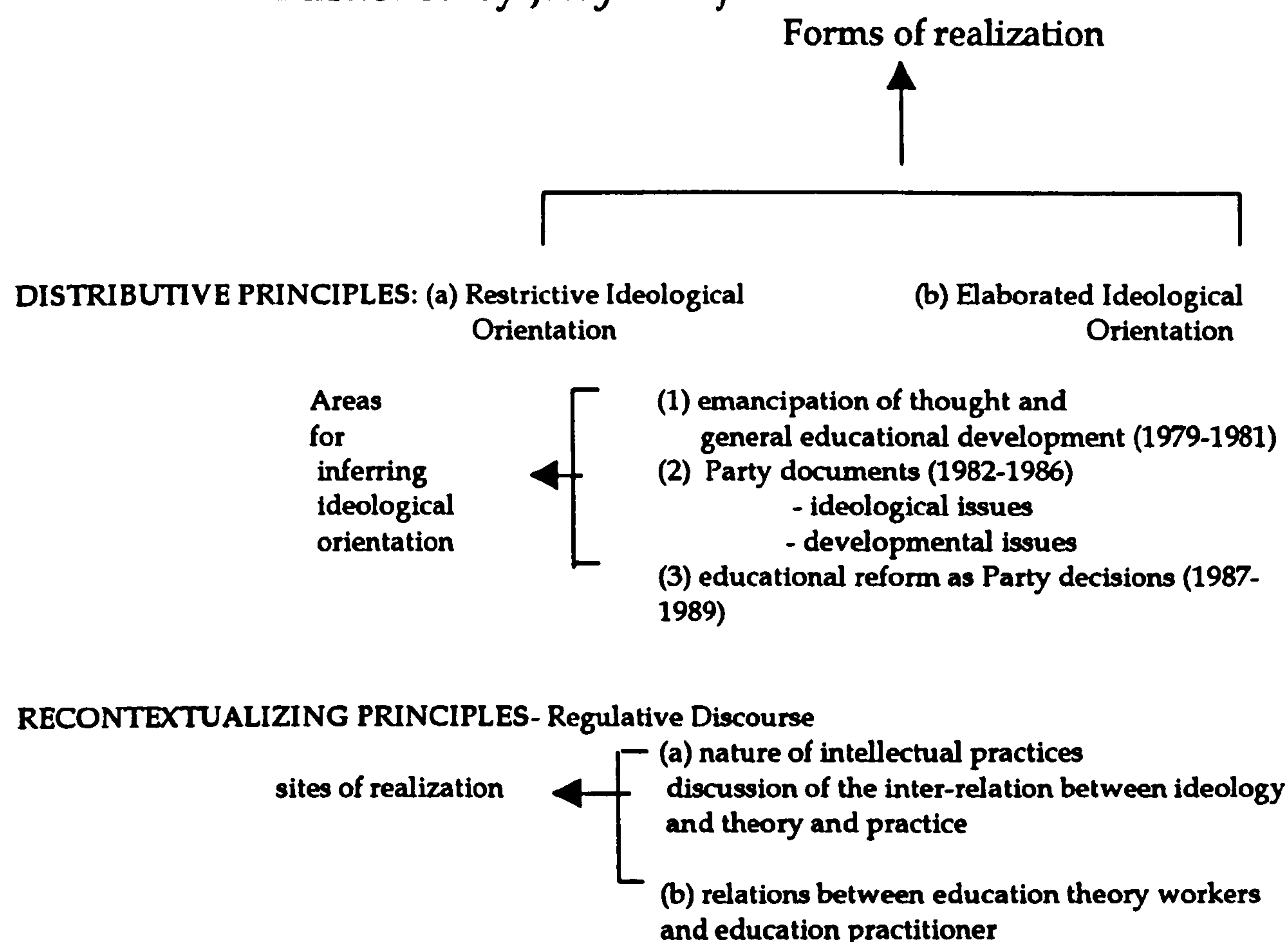
Following the theory of pedagogic discourse developed by

Bernstein, we shall propose the following framework to interpret

the ways in which the announced editorial practices are

constituted (Figure 5.1).

**Figure 5.1    The Framework for Analysing the Editorials  
Published by *Jiaoyu Yanjiu***



The model of pedagogic device developed by Bernstein has been applied in this research to generate the framework for extracting and rearranging essential discursive elements from the editorials to show the ways in which the editorial board of the



journal organizes its regulatory practices over the production of discourse. At the level of distributive rules, we have identified two major ideological orientations as forms of realization for the distributive rules. Furthermore, we have identified three types of discursive sources in the editorials to help us to infer the dominant ideological orientation in any particular year.

We have also identified the sites of realization for recontextualisation rules. We shall discuss the methods of analysis later in this chapter.

## **5.5 Distributive Principles**

Bernstein proposes that distributive principles are "the means whereby a relation is constructed between power, social groups, knowledge and forms of consciousness" (Bernstein, 1990:180). They are the principles for policing the production of the unthinkable into thinkable and distributing different forms of knowledge to different social groups. In the case of intellectual practices in the developing field of education, distributive principles suggest the extent to which the State is prepared to

tolerate intellectual practices in the field. As suggested above, the task of the editorial board is to regulate intellectual practices. The editorial is the place where the editorial practices are announced. We consider that distributive principles in this case are indicated by statements of ideology.

In the Chinese context, the fundamental ideological baseline for any discourse is the socialist ideology. The retreat of politics from discourse after the Cultural Revolution as suggested by Tsou means that intellectual practices during this period are not only about interpreting texts derived from political discourse (Tsou, 1986:151-159). The retreat, however, does not mean the disappearing of ideology from educational discourse. Therefore this may not amount to an autonomous intellectual field in Bourdieu's sense, at least not from the point of view of the editorial. There is, however, a change in the principles of control of the production of knowledge. We have suggested that the control of the production of knowledge by the State shifts from control over the principle of production to that over the management of production of knowledge in the Post Cultural Revolution era. It is now the editorial board that functions to

exercise this role of management. As suggested above, on the one hand, the editors are expected to promote intellectual practices so as to have a developed field of education, but on the other hand, the editors are the new gatekeepers for socialist ideology in the developing field of education. We suggest that the distributive principles in this era are realized through two modalities of ideological orientation, namely, elaborated ideological orientation and restrictive ideological orientation. Restrictive here refers to a limited range of topics, and intellectuals are expected to follow official views. Elaborated refers to a wider range of topics without specific official guidance. Restrictive ideological orientation denotes taboo area for intellectual practices while elaborated ideological orientation leaves greater space for intellectual practices.

These discursive orientations can be detected an examination of editorials. Four areas carrying ideological expressions have been identified for the years between 1979 and



1989 with references to: [55]

- (1) emancipation of thoughts
- (2) educational development in general
- (3) reference to Party documents, important articles, speeches
  - a) - texts in relation to educational reform
  - b) - texts in relation to disputes in ideology
- (4) educational reform as a result of Party decision

Each area involves different parameters within which intellectual practices in the developing field of education are allowed or guided by the State.

Further, these areas are all corresponding to different periods. We have been able to group them under the following headings [56]:

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- 55 The editorial board of the journal published its editorial in 1979, 1981-1989. The editors stopped publishing editorials on 1990, right after the Tiananmen incident. Instead they have been producing a list of topics which they recommend the authors to take note of.
  - 56 These phases are derived from the discussion made by Schram. We find that the distinction of the three phases of ideological development in the wider society between 1978 and 1984 made by Schram is helpful in organising our discussion (Schram, 1984).

1. First phase (1979-1981): Emancipation of thoughts and Educational Development in General
2. Second phase (1982-1986): Interpreting Party Documents
3. Third phase (1987-1989): The consolidation of Educational Reform

We shall now proceed to analysing the editorials on the basis of the framework we have outlined above.

#### **5.5.1 Phase I: Emancipation of Thoughts and Educational Development in General (1979-1981): Establishing a New Educational Ideology**

The first phase in our analysis is from 1979-1980. It was named as “Yan-Fu theme” [57] by Schram. According to Schram, the strategy adopted by the Chinese Communist Party at this stage was the “emancipation of thought” as “the key to restoring the morale and the dynamism of the Chinese people after the

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57 Yan Fu is the first Chinese to translate major Western literature on sociology and philosophy into Chinese during late Qing Dynasty. His strategy for modernizing China is however very controversial. He advocates the abandoning of the primacy of collectivist considerations over individual ones, which is an important component of Chinese traditional culture. It is "only by increasing the spirit of initiative of each and every Chinese citizen would the total energies of the population be maximized, and thereby the capacity of the nation and of the state to survive and develop be maximized" (Schram, 1984:17). This is clearly a

experiences of the Cultural Revolution decade” (Schram, 1984:30).

In chapter three, we have already discussed the ways in which the Chinese Communist Party launched the reform by initiating a national ideological debate between the two positions of “two whateverists” and “seeking the truth from facts” (see 3.3.2) .

When Deng, leading the “seeking truth” faction, won the ideological battle, a national conference on socialist theory was convened by the Deng faction to discuss possible reform to the socialist system.

In education, the emphasis here is on the individuals’ effort to think through what was advocated by the Gang of Four during the Cultural Revolution and to understand the damage it has done to China. This, however, must not be mistaken as the institutionalisation of discursive autonomy in intellectual practices.

## **1979**

The editorials published between 1979 and 1981 by the editorial board are clearly concerned with establishing a new

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provocative statement.



educational ideology. As suggested in the previous chapters, *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* is created by the State as the site to disseminate the new educational ideology. In their first editorial published in 1979, we can make the following observations:

Firstly, the editors ask themselves specifically how they should run the journal. They came up with the following answers. They suggest that they should advocate the emancipation of the mind and to initiate academic discussion. This, according to the editors, refers to the liberation of the mind from the constraints imposed by the Gang of Four and Lin Biao, and a return to true Marxist epistemology. This corresponds to the development of the new ideology in the wider society, and is in line with the observation made by Schram and Tsou that in the wider society, the legitimacy of the new policies is to be built upon a new reading of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism. The official view is that the “true” meaning has been rendered obscure and distorted by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. There was thus a need to emancipate ones' mind from the obscurity and constraints imposed by the Gang of Four so that the true Marxist epistemology could be

restored.

Secondly, we should also notice how the new reading of the ideological texts is realized. Instead of calling for an intensive re-reading or alternative correct reading of Marxist-Leninist Maoist literature, the editors advocate learning from the West and from traditional Chinese thought. This is clearly an “extrovert” strategy. The editorial board suggests that learning from the West and traditional Chinese thoughts is like opening a window to let fresh air into the room. This analogy of “opening a window” is *de facto* announcing a new type of discursive autonomy for intellectual practices in this newly developing field of education [58]. It is further suggested that there is a need to expand the area of educational research and teaching in higher education colleges. A total of eighteen areas are proposed. They range from economics of education, sociology of education to school management and the education of ethnic minorities.

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58      As we shall explain below, this new type of discursive autonomy should not be taken to be the same as academic freedom as understood in the West.



From the point of view of the theory of Pedagogic Device, the State has officially opened up the field of production of discourse to the international field.

Thirdly, although there is a relaxation on what should be allowed to intellectuals, they have to be guided. In a word, discursive autonomy cannot be relaxed for the sake of autonomy of intellectual practices. This is echoed by the editorial's restatement of adhering firmly to the principle of "the double hundred" [59]. Although the editors declare that they would like to advocate and actually implement academic freedom, later issues, however, suggest that at best this only denotes an elaborated ideological position. Thus the meaning of the term "academic freedom" is different from what is traditionally understood in the West. Academic freedom in this context should not be regarded as

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59 Double Hundred refers to "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend". Originally, this statement was issued by Mao in 1956 to invite the intellectuals to voice their opinions and criticism on various areas of state policies. However, the intellectuals were more critical than Mao and the Party were prepared to accept. It was then turned into an anti-rightist campaign, which later became the beginning of the "Great Leap Forward". Nevertheless, this slogan was still accepted as an expression to show that the Party was committed



establishing an institutionalised intellectual field of education.

This new autonomy, especially when generated as a State project, is precipitated by new conditions and objectives of the State. From this perspective, unregulated autonomy is potentially dangerous to the state. Indeed, from the Chinese point of view, unregulated autonomy is always associated with anarchism, a word used to describe the Cultural Revolution by the officials and a position accepted even by the intellectuals. How is this new discursive autonomy regulated? In other words, what are the new parameters for new intellectual practices? The answer can also be found in the 1979 editorial. This is the notion of general educational development. It is suggested in the editorial that, “the current task of educational research is to explore education itself and all kinds of patterns of relationship between education and economic development so that the Four Modernizations can be facilitated. On the other hand, educational research has to be modernized, so that it can catch up with the world standard in a relatively short period of time” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1979:13).

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to listen to various views, as well as to tolerate alternative views.

Accordingly, a programme of research is proposed in the editorial. On the whole, in the 1979 editorial, literally half of the articles are devoted to explaining the new ideology, while the other half are on the proposed research agenda.

Clearly, the ideological orientation in the 1979 editorial is an elaborated ideological expression, realized through elaborating two sources of new legitimate areas of discourse: emancipation of thought and general educational development.

## **1981**

A similar message reappears in the 1981 editorial [60]. But in this year, only a small portion of the articles is devoted to explaining the new ideology (21 out of 128 lines). The editors give credit to themselves for publishing a number of important articles in the previous year (1980). On top of the list is a speech from Zhou Yang to the Central Institute for Educational Research, which encourages the researcher to further emancipate the mind

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60      *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* did not publish an editorial in 1980.

from the ideological constraints of the Cultural Revolution. Zhou Yang himself is an influential ideologue within the Party. His endorsement can be seen as the Party's approval for promoting intellectual practices in the emerging field of education. A total of eight research areas are cited as the contributions the field of education as a whole accomplished in 1980. These eight areas included economics of education, Confucius' educational thoughts and theories of comparative education. Not accidentally, these areas are concerned with Western educational theories and practices, as well as traditional Chinese thoughts. Although we do not know what the editors could have called for in 1980, on the whole, these eight areas correspond to what has been called for in the 1979 editorial.

The 1981 editorial, as well as the 1979, is also based on an elaborated ideological expression.

### **5.5.2 Phase II: Interpreting Party Documents (1982-1986)**

The second phase is from 1982-1986, when, according to Schram, the State recognizes that the Chinese people could not be



left alone to find their own way (Schram, 1986). In this sense, the Chinese Communist Party sees itself as the modern Guardian of a modern Chinese socialist society. The Party has to offer something positive as the ideal of the society. It is in this context that the notion of socialist spiritual civilization is suggested. From this perspective, there is no absolute intellectual freedom per se. Such intellectual freedom is described as “bourgeois liberalization”. Intellectual practices should be constructive for the general good of the society and therefore guidelines are justified. This again must be distinguished from the strategy of ideological control during the Cultural Revolution.

As discussed in the last chapter, during 1983-1984, there is “a full scale offensive against spiritual pollution”. The notion of spiritual pollution has several areas of application. In intellectual discourse, it refers to the suggestion made by some intellectuals that alienation exists in socialist countries like China. In daily activities, it refers to the official alarm at the degrading of human quality in the wider society by pornography and pop music imported alongside Western technology as a result of the open

door policy.

In the 1982 editorial we can locate for the first time a third area of legitimacy for producing new theories. From this year on, the editorial's strategy of discursive regulation is to take the publication of Party documents as the source of legitimacy for theory production. This on the whole signifies changes in the modality of ideological control exercised by the Chinese Communist Party in the wider society after the Cultural Revolution. As suggested by Tsou, national development in the Post-Cultural Revolution era is characterized by the steering of an oscillating "middle course" reform within a two-zone demarcation. On the right side of the demarcation is the famous Resolution adopted by the Chinese Communist Party at its Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee Meeting in December, 1978, whereas on the left side of the demarcation is the four fundamental principles declared by Deng in March, 1979 (Tsou, 1986:251-252). Party documents now become the crystallization of current consensus within the Party. These reflect how the Party as a whole assesses the current state of affairs. Accordingly, in the

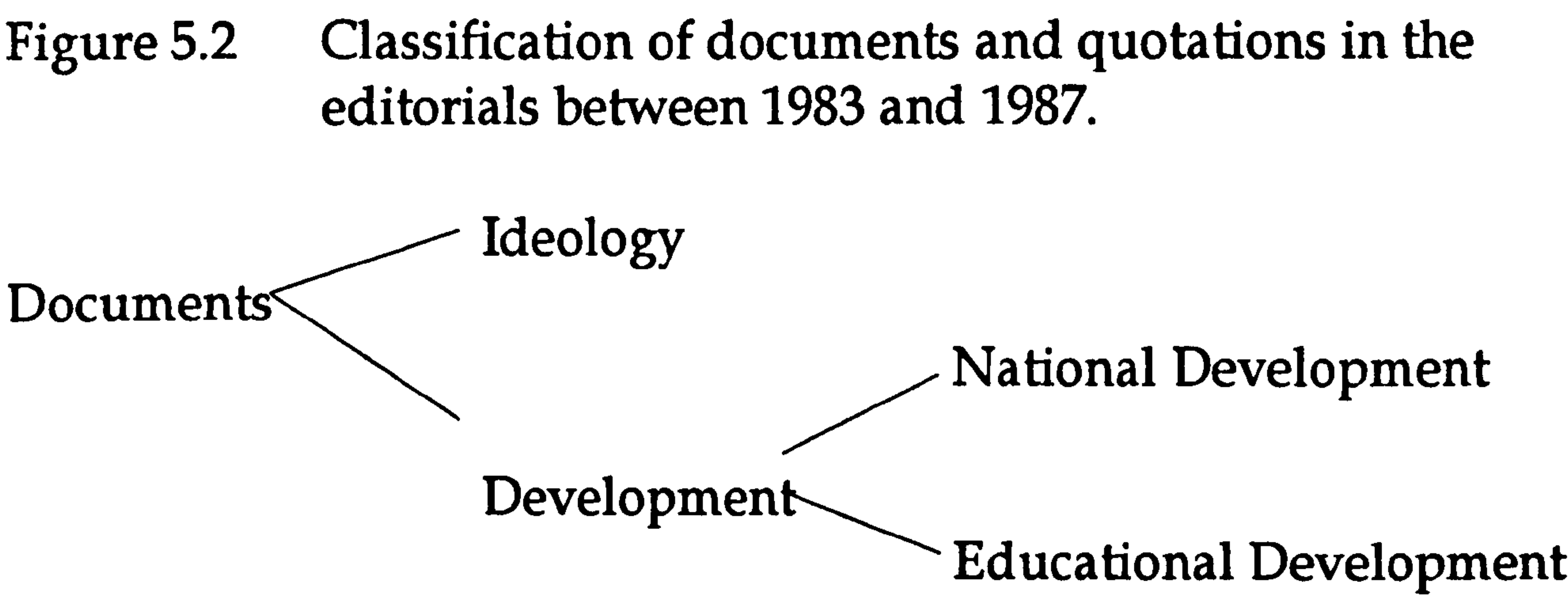
field of education, the balance of ideology and development is now made by the editors in proposing guides for intellectual practices in the developing field of education in the context of the documents and resolution endorsed by the Party Congress and the National People's Congress.

We shall list the documents, resolutions and inscriptions used by the editorials during this period below. As suggested above, they can first be classified as concerned either with the issue of ideology or developmental. Thus two categories can be identified. Development is concerned with educational and national development in the context of the modernization programme, whereas ideology is concerned with issues of ideological control in the process of development. Furthermore, for the documents that are concerned with development, we can subdivide them into “national development” and “educational development”. “National development” refers to the documents which address the issues of national, social and economic development where educational development is just part of the strategy. “Educational development” refers to the documents



where the very issues of educational reform and development are the subjects of the documents.

We can summarize the classification in the following diagram (Figure. 5.2).



The analysis of the policy documents cited in editorials from 1982-1986 using the categories explained can be summarized in the following. The categorization of the documents does not require an external check as the texts clearly indicate the relevant categories.

1982 editorial:

*The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China --*  
Ideology

1983 editorial:

The Twelfth National Congress of the CCP--

National Development

The Fifth Plenum of the Fifth National People's Congress -

National Development

Quotation from Hu Yaobang (then Party Secretary) and Deng Xiaopeng -

National Development

1984 editorial:

Hu Qiaomu's article *On the Question of Humanism and Alienation - Ideology*

Deng Xiaopeng's inscription "Education has to face modernization, the World and Future" --

Educational development

1985 editorial:

The Third Plenum of the Twelfth National Party Congress and *The Decision of the Central Committee on the Reform of Economic Structure*

National Development

Deng Xiaopeng's inscription "Education has to face modernization, the World and Future" --

Educational development

1986 editorial:

*The Recommendation for the Seventh Five-Year Plan on National Economic and Social Development by the Central Committee -*

National Development

*The Decision on the Reform of Education Structure by the Central Committee --*

Educational Development

1987 editorial:

*The Decision on the Reform of Education Structure by the Central Committee--*

Education Development

*Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology --*

Ideology

We shall now examine in detail the ideological orientation as indicated in these policy documents as reported in the editorials between 1982 and 1986.

## **1982**

The policy document discussed in the 1982 editorial is *The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China* (referred to as *The Resolution* hereafter). This is the official verdict on Mao by the CCP. As summarized by Gardner, the verdict is that he "was a great revolutionary who made mistakes in his later life" (Gardner, John, 1988:19). This is clearly also the official verdict about the Cultural Revolution. It also suggests that things would never go



back [61].

In the field of education, the regulatory function of the editors is realized in terms of the request to the researchers for more emphasis on “good” political education. Indeed, when the editorial reviews what they has done in 1981, topping the list was the strengthening of the promotion of research outcomes in ideological and political education. According to the editors, this "has strengthened and improved ideological and political education in schools, the construction of socialist spiritual civilization and thus guarantee the success of the Four Modernizations" (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1982:91). Here, the Four Modernizations are now regarded as the new national goal, whereas the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization is a strategy for achieving such ideological goal.

When writers are invited to discuss only the new educational ideology, they are supposed to discuss only the new

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61      Hence it is not possible for the journal to be the sponsor of radical collectivism.

ideology as presented in the “The Resolution”. The editors suggests that,

*“The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China stipulated by the Central Committee of the Party has scientifically explained the historical position of Mao Zedong Thoughts and its scientific status. It also serves to adjudicate the Party's guiding principles on education. It provides us with the principles for explaining Mao Zedong Thoughts, as well as the Party's guiding principles on education. We sincerely hope that educationists and comrades who are concerned about education send in more articles in this area.” (Jiaoyu Yanjiu, 1/1982:92)*

It is thus clear that *The Resolution* is regarded as the only official interpretation of Mao's thoughts. Only annotation, but not connotation is permitted. In this connection, intellectual practices are not expected to be about disseminating the restrictive ideological voice.

The control on intellectual practices is also evidenced by the editors' announcement of the “double hundred policy” with

reference to the Four Fundamental Principles (ibid:92). As suggested in the last chapter, “double flower policy” is traditionally a symbol of tolerance for diverse views. This time, its announcement is qualified with the restrictive notion of the four fundamental principles. The editorial is thus imposing a restrictive boundary here. This message is clearly different from that in the 1981 editorial. This is clearly a signal to the writers concerning the extent to which they are allowed to exercise the new discursive autonomy. The agenda for discussion as proposed by the editors in the 1982 editorial is thus clearly underlined by restrictive ideological orientation.

### **1983**

In the editorial, the Twelfth Communist Party Congress and the Fifth National People's Congress are depicted as indicating the importance of education in the socialist modernization programme. Drawing on a quotation from the then Party Secretary Hu Yaobang, the editors emphasised that education is one of the key strategies for economic development. Another quotation made by Deng is then used by the editors to suggest the need to integrate



the Marxist general truth with the actual conditions of China for the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics. For the editors, there is

“the need to adhere to use Marxism and the thoughts of Mao as guidance, to insist on the direction of socialism but based on the demand for constructing a high degree of civilization and democracy, as well as based on evaluating our own experience, so that we can sum up useful experience in foreign countries for building up our own socialist educational system with Chinese characteristics.” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1983:2)

Following Deng closely, the editors go on to propose that the socialist way forward is the construction of a high degree of civilization and democracy with Chinese socialist characteristics. This provides the context in which the experience of the West can be interpreted. The task for the intellectuals is two fold. The first is to contribute to the development of the new socialist ideology as outlined by Deng and the second one is to utilize Western knowledge for educational development. Thus the 1983 editorial is a switch back to elaborated ideological orientation.

**1984**

The 1984 editorial is a complete switch to restrictive ideological orientation. The language of legitimacy clearly changes to a restrictive one. For example, the editors in this issue suggest that "an important aspect of their current task is to use Marxism and Mao's thought as the guidance to explore and research on the theoretical and practical problems that are now facing our education work" (ibid., 1/1984:76). This primacy of guidance of the political ideology thus denotes the old tune of ideological control.

Moreover, a substantial part of the essay is on the debate of alienation (40% of the essay). The essay written by Hu Qiaomu [62] on the issue of socialist alienation and humanism is cited by the editors as an important essay for learning. Two further points are made by the editors.

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62 Hu Qiaomu, widely regarded as the spokesman of the left wing of the Party was responding to a theoretical issue raised by a news editor from *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily). The editor asked whether or not it is possible to have alienation under

Firstly, they acknowledge the usefulness of debating issues such as the intrinsic qualities of education; the relationship between education and economics, politics and society; and the intrinsic nature of man. They also pledge to continue to discuss these issues. However, they suggest that the objective of the discussion is to facilitate the use of the positions derived from Marxism and Mao's thought in order to obtain a more scientific understanding of these theoretical issues. According to the editors, the discussions can contribute to a better theoretical basis for a socialist education system with Chinese characteristics.

Secondly, the editors also suggest that some of the remaining unsolved issues such as the development of man and the relationship between the individual and the collective are affecting the education theory workers and practitioners. In the Chinese context, this means that these workers have taken wrong positions on these issues. However, the editors then immediately suggest that these are matters of understanding, which should only be criticized by reason and on acceptable grounds.



The editors conclude by urging the contributors to use Marxism as the guidance to “make more systematic and penetrating analysis, to distinguish wrong ideas from the right ones, to take in what is good and criticize what is wrong”. They also urge the contributors to “use the Marxist positions, perspectives and methods to conduct scientific evaluation on the experience of education and product from educational research in foreign countries” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. 1/1984:76).

The 1984 editorial does offer us an important clue to understanding the regulatory function exercised by the editors in the production of theories. Compared to the 1983 editorial, this editorial is clearly announcing the “epistemological monopoly” of the primacy of Marxism over educational research and the recontextualisation of Western educational discourses into Chinese educational discourses. It seems to suggest that, at least for this period of time, Marxism is the only permitted position for the discussion of theoretical issues.

However, it is this specification of the arena for the

epistemological primacy of Marxism that makes it different from the modality of control during the Cultural Revolution. When the editors turned to talk about the substantive issues of educational reform in other paragraphs, the legitimate source of guiding principles becomes the inscription Deng wrote for a Beijing key point secondary school: *Education has to face modernization, the world and future*. It is as if Marxism is reserved only for debating fundamental issues. When the issues are about educational reform, the discussions are based on the actual situation of the society. In other words, there is an internal division of labour within educational discourse, part of which separates and limits the discussion of epistemological principles from a more open discussion of reform issues.

After seven years of reform, emancipation of thought becomes “emancipation of practice”. When there are ideological conflicts in the wider society, the ideological basis of knowledge is preserved by the state's effort to impose dominance over epistemology through the regulation of pedagogic discourse. The role of the editors seems to be a mediating one. On the one hand,

they relay ideological restriction over epistemological issues, but on the other hand, they signal an elaborated orientation with respect to the practicalities of the reform. Thus it is safe to discuss the pragmatics of the reform but much less safe to raise the epistemological issues.

As suggested above, we have identified 1984 as a year of restrictive ideological orientation.

## **1985**

The formulation of an elaborated ideological orientation is even clearer in the 1985 editorial. The editorial starts by taking a quotation from *The Decision of the Central Committee on the Reform of Economic Structure* adopted by the Party in the previous year. It seems that the strategy for building socialism with Chinese characteristics has been given a more contemporary meaning. In the economy, this strategy of national development is realized through economic reform. In education this is translated into educational reform. It is thus clear that the strategy is development focused, rather than ideology-led. In this case, the



three faces (see quotation next page) specified by Deng serve to provide the legitimacy and impetus for advocating reform in various levels of the educational system. It is, as we have seen, Deng who legitimates the elaborated orientation towards understanding the requirements of reform by announcing the slogan: Education has to face modernization, the world and the future. The importance can be seen from the following extract from the 1985 editorial,

“Educational reform now demands that education theory puts the problems facing educational reform as its first priority. This should initiate more research on the fundamental theories of education to serve educational reform better.... Based on this, Comrade Xiaopeng applies the principle of integrating Marxist general principles with the actual situation of China ... and proposes that "Education has to face modernization, the world and future". This is the guiding principle of our educational reform. The prime task now is to understand and interpret "the three faces" in a comprehensive and accurate way, to implement the strategy at every level and every kind of education in a concrete manner in order to achieve the objectives of educational reform.” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1985:27)

Following this logic, the 1985 editorial set out to elaborate this newly established educational ideology.

A total of seven areas for educational research are proposed in the 1985 editorial. Topping the list is the call from the editors for more discussion on the relationship between the new reform ideology and possible reform areas and measures. Based on this new reform ideology, the editors then went on to list what they thought as the crucial reform issues in education which the researchers should address. These included reform in the educational system, innovations in teaching, as well as moral and political education. It seems that the practical contribution of educational research to the reform problems is now more emphasized by the editors. In this way, the principle of production of knowledge as advocated by the editors is issue orientated, rather than discipline and theory oriented.

It is thus clear that the editorial in 1985 is based on elaborated ideological orientation.

**1986**

The same message is repeated in the 1986 editorial, but in a rather different format. Two more documents, *The Recommendation for the Seventh five-year Plan on National Economic and Social Development by the Central Committee* and *The Decision on the Reform of Education Structure by the Central Committee* are used by the editors to stress the importance of educational reform in China. The editorial even suggests that “our research on educational science has to provide scientific basis for the implementation of reform on educational system” (*ibid.* 1/1986:80). Educational research is now urged to be more forward looking.

Indeed, when the editors give a new set of guidelines for carrying out educational research, adherence to the Four Fundamental Principles is qualified by the "three faces" advocated by Deng and the "double hundred" policy. The developmental side, rather than the ideological side of educational theory is emphasized here. This is a clear indication of elaborated ideological orientation.



### 5.5.3 Phase III: The Consolidation of Educational Reform (1987-1989)

Editorials in the next three years take on an even more interesting perspective. In previous editorials, areas of legitimacy for the production of discourse are discussed in terms of what the authors should or should not write, thus leading to a series of specific research topics. From this issue onwards, for the next three years, until 1989, before the editors stop publishing editorials, areas of legitimacy are given in terms of appeals for more academic freedom.

It is clear that the urgent need for reform has created in the field of education an even wider social space for intellectual practices. In the words of the editors in 1987, “theory work now is not able to lead the reform. Theory work actually fails to guide educational practice” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1987:3-4). This indicates a great shift among the editors in the recontextualisation of the ideology of reform. It is as if the issue now is not a concern about the possible challenge to the ideological basis of knowledge, but the ways in which educational reform can move forward. The

new area of legitimacy, i.e. educational reform, is clearly dominating the scene. For example, the editors in 1987 suggested that "the journal should face up to the actual situation of educational reform and construction, to strengthen organizing and editing of articles which we know having important implication on educational practices and theories" (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1987:4). They also suggested that the journal should try its best to implement the "double hundred policy" in order to build up an environment conducive to intellectual freedom, thus helping education worker to research on new topics. This clearly indicates a more fundamental rethink by the editors of the strategy to promote freer intellectual practices.

## **1987**

Two Party documents are quoted in this year's editorial. They are *The Decision on the Reform of Education Structure by the Central Committee* and *Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology*. What should be noted here is the way in which the editors use the notion "Spiritual Civilization". The notion "socialist ideology",

which has been emphasized by the editors before is now subsumed under the context of socialist civilization, which now denotes the quality of “thought and morality, as well as scientific culture” of the Chinese nation. Thus the appeal to spiritual civilization is made on a more universalistic ground, rather than on particularistic grounds in terms of the relationship among social groups or between the Party and the society, as in the case of discussing the notion of socialist ideology.

From the editors' point of view, their current task is to advocate an increase in the production of education discourse. In their words, the editors suggest that “they shall also face the reality of educational reform and construction and encourage more articles which research on the issues with significance on the reform or important theoretical implication” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1987:3).

It is also interesting to note that at this time, the Party in general is trying to redefine relationships with intellectuals. In the winter of 1986, students in the China University of Science and



Technology, in Hefei, Anhui Province, a central region in China, went to the streets to demand more freedom and democracy. When such news spread, students from over 150 campuses in at least 17 cities responded by organizing demonstration in their own campuses (Rai, 1991:153-154). A number of scholars spoke out for more freedom of speech and less government restriction on intellectual activities. Su Shaozhi, the director of Marxist-Leninist Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Science, suggested at that time that “theoretical workers must have real courage and boldness of vision, and must ponder questions independently rather than mechanically following the instructions of high authorities and books... Our theoretical workers must have ... courage in the course of promoting our socialist spiritual civilization” (quoted in Gittings, 1990:212) [63]. The response from the Party is ambivalent. On the one hand, the Party is still committed to economic reform. They still consider that research work is able to contribute to national development. But on the other hand, three scholars who are seen to have gone too far are

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63      Su went to stay in the US after the Tiananmen incident in June 1989.

dismissed from the Party. They were Fang Lizhi, an astrophysics scientist; Wang Ruowang, a literary worker and Liu Binyan, a journalist, who is famous for advocating being loyal to socialism and not the Party. It is important to note that they were only dismissed from the Party, not punished by the state. It is made clear that these three intellectuals are expelled because their acts and words are not compatible with what should be expected from Party members. However, their professional status has not been affected (Rai, 1991:157). Thus they could carry on with their work, now as non-Party members.

Nonetheless, the student unrest did lead to the resignation of Hu Yaobang, the general secretary of the Party, who was accused by the hard-liners in the Party of being too lax in the matter of ideological control. Some hard-liners even suggested that there was a need to combat the so called “bourgeois liberalism”. This notion suggests that it is not wrong to learn from the West. It is, however, wrong to learn the bad side of the West. The good side of the message is even more important: as long as you do not learn the bad side, you are free to choose what you



think the Chinese nation should learn from the West. In the wider society, this means that it is perhaps legitimate to ask for more autonomy within the field of education for the benefit of educational reform but it is clearly wrong to fight for freedom of speech as an inherent right, because this may lead to a chaotic situation. The production of theory is now officially recognized as more than the simple recontextualising of official ideas in the field of politics into the field of education. From this perspective, intellectuals need not worry about the principles guiding their production of knowledge. However, they should not abuse this newly granted autonomy by confusing the minds of their fellow colleagues either. This is in line with our suggestion that the control of the production of knowledge by the state shifts from the control over the principle of production to that over the management of production of knowledge in the Post Cultural Revolution era.

In the 1987 editorial, the editors do not choose to position themselves with the hard line spectrum of the Party. They use half of the editorial to talk about how to make the journal livelier and to have a more academic atmosphere (ironically, the editors



thought that the journal can be more lively when contributors spend more time talking about academic issues!) The editors actually appeal for further emancipation of thought and appealed to the theory workers to free themselves from all kinds of ideological constraints. The importance of the notion of educational reform is reflected in the following extracts of the editorial:

“In order to encourage more readers and writers to contribute their research product to education of the motherland, thus helping to push forward educational practice along the road of educational science, our journal will organize a competition of good papers this year and the next year. We welcome all papers which research on important practical and theoretical issues in the current educational reform and construction. We welcome all papers, experimental reports, investigative survey reports which explore new perspectives, adopt a certain degree of theoretical depth and are useful for guiding educational practice and theoretical research.” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1987:4)

Clearly, the 1987 editorial is written on the basis of elaborated ideological orientation.

**1988**

The same argument is repeated in the 1988 editorial. The editorial is written by the editors in the wake of the Thirteenth National Congress of the Party, in which the idea that China is at the primary stage of socialism is officially accepted. In terms of the balance between development and ideology that we indicated in the beginning of this chapter, the Thirteenth Congress suggests that, at least for the time being, the importance of reform and development outweighs ideological control. To the editors and intellectuals, this is good news because it means that the notion of educational reform now becomes part of official ideology which is now confirmed by the Party Congress.

Indeed, the importance of this new approach is reflected in the way in which the editorial is written. The importance of the Thirteenth Congress is discussed and then its implications for encouraging more elaborated intellectual practices are announced by the editors. For example, the editors suggest that

“Now and for a certain period of time to come, the central task of the education frontline is to study, understand and implement the spirit of the Thirteenth Congress in order to speed up and deepen educational reform. Through educational reform, education can be more adapted to the reform of economic and political system. We can thus build up a mechanism which is lively, and also able to serve the construction of socialist modernization in a more active way. We also hope to raise entirely the quality of scientific culture and moral ideas of the workers and youths, so that there is more qualified manpower for the construction of the Four Modernization of the country.” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1988:3)

The editors then go on to suggest how educational science workers could contribute to furthering educational reform. A wide range of issues are then identified by the editors as the theoretical problems the reform was facing. They then urge the contributors to help by thinking through the relevant issues.

Moreover, “education theory workers” are encouraged by promises of intellectual freedom. The editors even quote from the then Party Secretary Zhao Zhiyang to stress the need of theory in



reform and the importance of the “Double Hundred principle”.

This time, there is no mentioning of "Double Hundred principle" within the framework of the Four Fundamental Principles.

Although the editors acknowledge the interference from “the ‘left’ and the right” (quotation mark for the left and absence of quotation marks for the right in the original [64]), they insist that it is now the best time for carrying out theoretical research since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Compared to the 1987 editorial, the editors are now more concerned about promoting more vigorous academic work in the developing field of education. The urge for more theoretical work and therefore the importance of intellectuals in the process of modernization should not be confused with institutionalised discursive autonomy. Nonetheless, it is very clear that the state

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64 We might speculate that the left in quotation mark is an ambiguous category whereas the right is always an unambiguous category. This is due to the fact that historically the Communist Party has always seen itself as a left wing party. However, the Cultural Revolution was seen as having been initiated by the extreme left elements of the Party. The left therefore has to be distinguished from the “left”. In the language developed in this thesis, the editors are clearly making a distinction between ideological positions. The “left” refers to traditional collectivism

has taken up measures to restrict the imposition of political discourse upon the discourse of education. The Party/State has not given up the Four Fundamental Principles, but it is now committed to encouraging the intellectual practices for the reform. There is now less resort to the Four Fundamental Principles.

The 1988 editorial is therefore based on elaborated ideological orientation.

## 1989

The editors are playing more attention to the issue of reform in 1989. In the wider society, intellectuals were pressing for a more democratic Chinese society. Yan Jiaqi, who was a close adviser to the then Party Secretary Zhao Zhiyang, was quoted as suggesting that

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whereas the right refers to bourgeois liberalism.

“[t]he next five to ten years would be a crucial period of China's political structural reform.... Building democratic politics to a high degree than in other developed countries will be a long-term process...At present, any social unrest might lead to the rise of ‘ultra-leftist’ ideology (quotation mark original). People must bear in mind the historical lesson as regards this issue. Political structural reform must be carried out step by step, in an orderly way, under the leadership of the Party.” (Yan, quoted in Gittings, 1990:222)

Thus in the wider society, the intellectuals are using this opportunity to demand more civil liberties, which amounts to demanding even far more autonomy from the political arena. Such a demand later becomes the source for the democratic movement leads to the Tiananmen protest launched by the students. This demand leads to the tragic event of the military repression in June 1989. It seems that the Party is prepared to accept a discourse of pluralistic positions only on the condition that such a discourse will not intervene in the political discourse dominated by the Party. This is indeed a new discursive relationship between the State and the intellectuals. Although this new relation is a conditional privilege, it is sufficient to legitimate



the editors' criticisms of some authors' rhetorical writing which resorted to Marxist dogmas and over-reliance on quotations from the leadership.

From the editors' point of view, the reform is more than specific policies derived from it. The editors specifically suggest that research on theory should not only be concerned with immediate results. Moreover, or perhaps more importantly, it should not be concerned with offering justification for the formation and adoption of certain policies or what the leadership would like to achieve. The editors suggest that this amounts to "the vulgarisation of theoretical research".

An interesting phenomenon is emerging here. If one sticks in general to the national agenda as prescribed by the Party, it is now legitimate to challenge specific proposals and decisions made by officials and in certain cases, even to re-interpret a classical text [65].

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65 A dramatic example of this point is a famous suggestion made by Hu Yaobang, the then Party Secretary that "we cannot expect the writings of Marx and Lenin at that time to provide solutions to

Indeed in the 1989 editorial, the editors even criticise the administrators for interfering too much in what they see as legitimate discussion of important theoretical issues concerning the reform. Examples of interference given by the editors include the correct evaluation of the experience of educational work before the Cultural Revolution and the lessons to be learned and the problems of expanding the autonomous administrative power of university presidents. The most significant issue raised by the editors is alienation. In the 1984 editorial, the essay of Hu Qiaomu on alienation was proposed by the editors as the official baseline for dealing with the issue. The essence of the essay entails recognition of the legitimacy for discussing the issue but intellectuals are advised not to debate the issue publicly because it might bring chaos and confusion to the wider society. After five years, the editors now shift their positions and suggest that research outcomes could have helped educational reform more if there have been less administrative interference. Moreover, for the first time, the editors suggest that the right to freedom and

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our current problems" (People's Daily, 7, Dec, 1984). After several days, the newspaper published an apology that said that the crucial phrase, which caught much international attention,

research within the parameters of the Constitution are the inherent right of every citizen including workers of science and should be respected. Again, this should not be seen as a declaration for the struggle of intellectual freedom as understood in the West, as the famous Four Fundamental Principles are still part of the Chinese Constitution. Indeed, paradoxically, the adherence to these Four Fundamental Principles makes it legitimate for the editors to propose a space for intellectual activities. The editors are recontextualising the existing ideological climate in order to legitimate the newly created discursive space. It is worth noting that the editors use such strong words in the 1989 editorials as this editorial was released five months before the repression of democratic movement in June, and that a more tense relationship between the state and intellectuals could now be anticipated.

There is no doubt that the inherent ideological orientation of the 1989 editorial is elaborated and perhaps the editorial represents the high point of this orientation.

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should have been all our current solutions (Gittings, 1990:211).



It is a pity that the editors stopped publishing annual editorial after 1989. No reasons have been given for this omission. Instead, a list of recommended topics for research has been published ever since. The range of recommended topics is so wide that it is not possible to infer from that the journal's regulatory function. However, it is clear that the June repression in 1989 did not alter the research agenda for reform but it appears to have restrained the editors from offering an explicit direction. The regulatory function of the editorial board is now more invisible and is carried out, we hypothesise, mainly through the selection of papers for publication. Detailed analysis of the published papers will be presented later in this thesis.

We have examined the distributive principles through an analysis of the editorials across the whole period of our concern. We are able to do this because every editorial makes some reference to ideology and we have shown that the ideology has been an index of a distributive principle. However, there are fewer references in the editorials to the type of texts the editors wish to promote. This difference of emphasis is itself a matter of

considerable interest as it indicates that ideology takes precedence over text: provide that the ideology is followed, the text could be legitimate. This perhaps tells us something about how ideology functions in China: a matter which we shall discuss in greater detail in later chapters. Thus in our analysis of recontextualising principles, we have only been able to examine editorials where the editors point to the appropriate texts.

## 5.6 Recontextualisation Principles

We have already dealt with how the editorial board regulates intellectual practices through constantly redefining legitimacy for the production of discourse in education. We noted a shift in the state's control over discourse from absolute ideological control over any discourse to control over the management of the practices through which the discourse arises. In this latter case, the control is not over discourse as such, but over its relevance for the reforms. Such regulatory function presupposes a certain kind of autonomy in intellectual practices. However, the condition for such autonomy is a function of the political relationship between the field of education and the field

of state, which is constantly shifting. Therefore such autonomy is conditional.

We shall now attempt to show how the production of discourse in the field of education is realized by examining how recontextualisation principles regulate the processes and forms of intellectual practices.

As illustrated earlier, the editorial board through its distributive principles played an important role in regulating intellectual practices by the relaying of legitimacy for the production of discourses of education. The product is then realized through what we call here intellectual practices. These are regulated by the editorial through its recontextualisation principles. As suggested by Bernstein, recontextualising principles are realized through two discourses, one, namely, the instructional discourse embedded in another, the regulative discourse. The regulative discourse is concerned with "creating specialized order, relation and identity" while the instructional discourse is concerned with "specialized competences" and their



relations to each other. We suggest that in the case of the intellectual practices in China, the regulative discourse, as we infer from the editorial, entails the following fundamental issues:

- the nature of intellectual practices
- the definitions of actors in the field

In brief, the regulative discourse refers to general control over the relations between theory and practice and the interactions between agents whereas the instructional discourse is concerned with how a potential discourse itself is constructed. It is these issues which, we suggest, define the parameters within which intellectual practices are realized. The instructional discourse is given by the categories of knowledge called for by the editors in the editorials. The regulative discourse is more concerned with the *how* of a discourse whereas the instructional discourse is concerned with *what* is being realized in a discourse.

In the following, we shall discuss the nature of regulative discourse as presented in the editorials. The editors rarely give specific guidance as to the manner of transmission of what we

have called instructional discourse. However, we shall be examining instructional discourse in greater details through studying papers published in the domain of moral education in the next chapter.

### **5.6.1 Nature of Intellectual Practices: The Relationship between Educational Theory and Educational Practice**

For the editors, the discourse of education is more than the establishment of theories of educational practices. For them, both theory and practice share an epistemological status in such a way that they are mutually the conditions of existence of the other. Intellectual practice is thus the process through which these two aspects organically inform each other in certain legitimate ways. Here, It may be suggested that during the Cultural Revolution, the distinction between theory and practice merged so that they were tied together mechanically and resulted in what may loosely be called “revolutionary practice”. This proved to be nothing more than ideological dogma in practice. Reforms after the Cultural Revolution involved recognition of the need to allow a more complex relationship between theory and practice. In the

following, we shall trace the discussion made by the editors on the epistemological relationship between theory and practice.

### 5.6.2 The Dual Notions of Theory

Two notions of theory are suggested by the editors in the editorials published over the years.

The first is the notion of fundamental aspects of theoretical research in what they call educational science. The editors suggested that

“these include a more serious examination of the educational theory of Marx and Mao; a scientific evaluation of the Chinese experience on education; an introduction, examination and comparison of the scientific theories of education in contemporary world; the introduction and trial of research methods of modern educational science and the supplement of new branches of educational science.” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1981:72)

This suggestion corresponds to the emancipation of thought called for by the editors at this period. The suggestion made by



Tsou that there was at least a partial retreat of ideology from discourses is here confirmed (Tsou, 1986:151-159). Marxism is not the one and only one source of theories. Although the inter-relationship between these areas were not specified, there was nevertheless an implicit suggestion that the Cultural Revolution had rendered the system of educational science incomplete and that the void could be filled by allowing other intellectual sources to enter the discourse of education and become what the editors called here “fundamental theories of education”.

The second notion is that theory should be associated with practice. This is reflected in the following,

“There is a need to strengthen the linkage between theories and practices so that discussion of theories can serve educational reform directly, hence raising the quality of education... There is also a need for the education researchers to translate advanced theories of education and teaching into concrete and practical ways of teaching, which should then be “delivered” to the hands of the teachers.” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1981:72)

No attempt was made to specify the relationship between these two notions. However, it is clear that the first notion is more concerned with the legitimacy of what can be counted as fundamental theory in education while the second notion is more concerned with the utility function of a theory itself. In the latter case, the discursive nature of theory rather than its discursive source is emphasized. These two aspects are not presented as a hierarchy, nor as part of a system of division of labour of intellectual practices. From this perspective, there is not a discourse of educational theory, nor a system in the formation. It seems that theory in the discourse of education is not constituted in accordance with epistemological principle established and accepted by the intellectuals. However, from the perspective of this research, it is important to point out that both notions of the nature of educational theories as used by the editors do imply a degree of discursive autonomy subjected to the conditions upon which this autonomy is derived. The notion of fundamental features of theoretical research is more concerned with the ideological aspects of the discourse. Here, autonomy for intellectual practices is generated from within political ideology

which is the result of temporal ideological consensus shared by the Party leadership. However, for the second notion of theory associated with practice, the exercise of autonomy is shielded from politics. Thus, the privilege of producing theory is conferred when intellectual practices are in line with the national project endorsed and advocated by the state. For intellectuals, and the editors, the strategies for building up theories are more about political strategies than methodological strategies because what has been at issue are theories which can satisfy the political and then discursive conditions of this conferred privilege in the production of discourse. It seems that for the editors, the past years has been a search for the conditions for intellectual practices which may on the one hand satisfy the political conditions and on the other hand allow such intellectual practice to take place.

This strikes at the heart of the relationship between mental and manual labour. In the journal, this issue becomes the relation between theory and practice. We therefore consider it crucial to examine how the editors construct and recontextualise the relationship over time. Changes in this relationship may well be



an index of the differentiation and specialization within the educational field.

A second focus that we consider being crucial also bears importance upon the differentiation and specialization of the intellectual field. In the editorials, we may be able to detect changes in these relations by examining how the editors define various groups and audiences.

Based on a close examination of the editorials, we have identified two phases of guidance in which the editors construct different relations between theory and practice.

#### **5.6.2.1 Phase I (1978-1985): Educational Theory and Political Practice**

In the first phase, which was between 1978 and 1985, theory was defined by the editors in terms of its fundamental nature. It seems that the editors' efforts were to build up what they believed to be research in fundamental theories in educational science. For example, in the 1982 editorial, which we have identified as a

product of restricted ideological orientation, the editors appealed to the authors to send in articles to interpret and explain the policy guidelines of the Party and Mao's ideas on education. In the 1983 editorial, among the six research areas identified by the editors, top of the list is a call to strengthen the research on Marxist-Leninist educational theories and practices. The agenda for developing educational theories, as explained by the editors, is

“to strengthen the research on the Marxist-Leninist educational theory and practice, which is the common task of the educational theoretician and practitioner in this new era of history. We need the fundamental theories of the thoughts of Mao Zedong and Marxists to guide the establishment of a theoretical framework of socialist education with the characteristic of our own. This framework should be steadily built up on the basis of evaluating the positive and negative experience after the founding of the PRC in 1949. There is also a need of comprehensive deepened understanding and a correct realization of the whole list of the Party's principles of educational work. This kind of research is now commencing.” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1983:3)

Although the 1981 editorial promises a more liberal definition of fundamental theories of education, subsequent developments in the wider society such as the emergence of spiritual pollution did not permit such development. Schram observed the emergence of Marxist moralism as a response of the Chinese socialist state to the spiritual pollution in the terrain of ideology (Schram, 1984:30-42). In the developing field of education, such concern is realized through asserting the Marxist principle as the dominant epistemological principle for fundamental educational theories. Further in the terrain of educational practice, such concern is realized in terms of a call for the strengthening of moral, political and ideological education. According to this perspective, the epistemological principle of educational theory is still a product of Marxist analysis.

Thus the issue articulated by the editors here is the relations between educational theory and political practice. It seems that when fundamental educational theories are at issue, there is always a danger of the politicization of academic debate. As the boundary between ideological debate and academic debate is not



clear cut, the state is always alert to the ideological implication of debate over these fundamental issues. In this chapter, we are not concerned with the strategies used by intellectuals to deal with these issues. We shall refer to this problem in later chapters. As the gatekeepers of the developing field of education, the editors always find this issue of fundamental educational theory problematic. Thus there is always a need to search for a “safer” way of developing intellectual practices in the developing field of education. This then takes us to phase two.

#### **5.6.2.2      Phase II (1986-1989): Educational Theory and Educational Practice**

As suggested above, the specific measures for educational reform adopted by the state in 1985 and the call by Deng Xiaopeng for education to “face modernization, the world and future” in 1984 offered a new legitimacy for the construction of educational discourse. The editors were quick to suggest the possibility for the recontextualisation of the new ideology into the discourse of education. In 1986, the following statement was made by the editors,

“we would like to encourage more exploration of theories about the construction of socialist education and educational reform: we need to be guided by Marxist theories, to follow the Four Fundamental Principles, to insist on the ‘three faces’ and to implement the Party’s ‘double hundred principle’ so that discussion of educational theories that concern us could be centred around the theoretical issues and practical problems we meet in the course of educational reform and construction. Educational research thus should offer a theoretical basis for the implementation of educational reform.”  
*(Jiaoyu Yanjiu, 1/1986:80)*

In this way, the qualifications made to the previous theories of education now crystallized in one issue: educational reform, as part of the current economic reform in the wider society. In this editorial (1986), the urgent need for educational theories was argued in terms of their functions to guide educational reform. For the editors, the problem now is not the fear of politically damaging educational theories, but rather inadequate theories for education reform. The old relationship of theory and practice is still intact but is taking on a new shape. Indeed, the 1987 editorial suggested that

“[The editors] hope educational theory workers can insist on the principle of association between theory and practice so that their research can be firmly based on the educational practice. On this basis, they can bravely carry out experiment and explore in all directions.” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1987:4)

The discursive space for theories in the discourse of education is clearly expanded as a result of the decision to implement educational reform.

The same tone was repeated in the 1988 and 1989 editorials in which the editors were intensifying their urge for more vigorous research in educational theories.

### **5.6.3 Nature of Agents: Relationship between Intellectuals and Practitioners; the Readers, the Authors and the Editors**

In order to understand the nature of agents for the production of educational theories, it is necessary to distinguish the readers, the writers and the editors. As discussed in previous chapters, during the Cultural Revolution, the integration of the



field of symbolic control and production meant that the distributive principles and recontextualising principles were integrated. This had important implications for who could be the producers and consumers of educational theories. The logic of educational theories was directly derived from that of political theories. The discourse of education thus became an explicit political discourse. Therefore, the producers and consumers were not restricted to a group of specialized trained “professionals”. In this case, during the Cultural Revolution for example, a party cadre might send in an article to a bulletin referring to the experience of reorganizing education in his/her production unit in accordance with proletarian ideology. The re-emergence of the intellectual field of education after the Cultural Revolution meant that educational theories now had a space to develop their own discursive position. We consider that this involves a double process of an emerging division of labour within the field of education. On the one hand, the growing strength of classification (specialisation) between education and production entails a growing classification between authors and readers inside and outside the field of education. On the other hand, the emerging

intellectual field of education also meant a growing division of labour among the producers and consumers of educational theories. Educational theoreticians are becoming more distinguishable from educational practitioners. It is thus important to see how this is reflected in the editorials of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. This can be reflected in the ways in which the journal editors address its audience.

#### 5.6.3.1 Authors and Readers

In the editorials, two groups of audience can be identified. The first is the potential contributors of articles and the second is the readers. *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* has the widest range of readership among the educational journal in China and it accepts contributions from all parts of the educational system. In the next chapter, we shall use the discourse on moral education to examine the institutional affiliation of the authors. The development of the journal indicated that there was a growing division of labour between various sub-fields of this emerging field. This necessarily implies a growing intensity of communication between the sub-fields within the emerging field of education.

## 5.7 Changes in Addressing the Audience Over the Years

In 1979, the important notion here is the use of “we”. For example, the editorial board suggested that the prime task of the journal was for “us to be with ‘you’ (the readers and the authors) together, to advocate the emancipation of thought... so that our thoughts can be liberated from the constraints imposed by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1979:13). At this moment, there is no specific distinction made on who the authors and readers are.

This notion continued to be used in the 1981 editorial. The first sentence in the 1981 editorial was that “*Jiaoyu Yanjiu* is a journal of research on theories for the education workers ourselves” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1981:71). The journal then went on to describe how they were going to promote the development of research in education science. They suggest that “they are going to reflect the research outcome of every educational administration unit, school and research unit in various regions, as well as all those who care about and research on education in the wider



society". Moreover, in this year's editorial, the editors quoted a number of articles which they published in 1980 and then went on telling how influential they have been in shaping new ideas of education. They then suggested that this was "the product of the joint effort of all the education workers" (ibid:71). They also suggested the wish to use the journal to promote the growth of young researchers. They hoped that "old age specialist and middle-aged educational theory workers and young people who are preparing to devote themselves to education" can all contribute as much as they can to the study of education (ibid:72).

Several themes emerge from this description. Firstly, it seems that from the point of view of the editorial board, there is a wider sense of the definition of agent and agencies than traditionally understood in the West in the production of educational discourse. For them, any one interested in and concerned with the development of education should be a producer of the discourse of education. Secondly, the journal rejected a hierarchical relationship in terms of the categories of various agents (specialists, educationalists and young persons)

except in a biological marker, namely, age. Thirdly, there is a clear inter-relations between what they call “education theory worker” and “education practitioner”. In the second section of the 1981 editorial, the editors suggest that “there is ... a need for education researchers to translate advanced theories of education and teaching into concrete and practical ways of teaching, which should then be “delivered” to the hands of the teachers”. They also encouraged the education workers, which mean school teachers in the Chinese context, to propose new discussion topics on the basis of their own working and learning experience and to solve the issues through theoretical discussion and scientific experiment (ibid:72). There is thus an assumption that the journal is to be developed as a forum for education theory workers and education practitioners, both of whom are distinguished and yet organically related by the journal.

This notion of “interrelation” is made more explicit in the 1983 editorial, when the editorial team evaluated their work with acknowledgement of the support from the readers and authors (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1983:2). When they turn to the need of support,

they acknowledge the importance of researchers on education and teaching and “actual education workers”. Among the discussion of proposals in this year’s editorial, there are three times when this notion of interrelation between education theory worker and education practitioner is used.

It was only until 1986, when the phrase “Marxist educational theory workers” was used alone, without the accompanying of phrase “education practitioners”. It was used when the editors were discussing the implication of *The Central Committee of Chinese Communist Party’s Seventh Five-Year-Plan on National Economy and Social Development* on educational development. This time, they chose to talk about the implication of the plan on educational research. But when they went on to talk about their audience, the notion of “interrelation” was used again.

Then beginning 1987 the editorial team dropped the notion of “interrelation”. Starting 1987, the editorial board developed a view that there was a need for the journal to promote more and



vigorous educational research so that “the education workers can research on education reform and new situations, experience and problems encountered” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1987:3). In this year’s editorial, it seems that the “education theory workers” were the main target of audience. Two lines of reasoning were being pursuit here.

The first line was the editors' criticism that theory work in education was lagging behind education work. It failed to give direction and offer guidance to education work. By education work, they meant all kinds of educational reform that were taking place in China at that time. Thus the issue now for the editorial board was not how to regulate the production of discourse in the developing field of education, but how to promote it.

The second line was on their explicit discussion of the new source of legitimacy of theory exploration. They suggested that “education theory worker should insist on the principle of association of theory and practice, to base deeply their research work on education practice (meaning reform)” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*,

1/1987:4). They called for a variety of papers, experimental reports, surveys which bear specifically on reform or reconstruction of education. This is a strong indication of the journal as a statement of state policy.

In this way, the dialogue between education theory worker and the actual education worker advocated by the editors has undergone a shift. The dialogue that was being called for was more between theory and policy, than between theory and practice. One may suggest that the editorial now realized who were the main contributors of the journal: the education theory workers. Thus although the main idea here was still about theory and practice, it was mainly about how education theorists could contribute more to educational reform.

The same line of argument was repeated in the 1988 and 1989 editorials. It is clear that the importance of education theories, though not for their own sake, but in relation to current reform was now emphasized by the editorial board of the journal.

As a matter of fact, this newly confirmed source of legitimacy could even be a legitimate weapon for the editors to criticize Government officials for interfering too much in the debate of education issues.

Thus it seems that over the period 1979-1989 there has been a shift in the editors' view of the categories of agents for the production of discourse. In the beginning little distinction was made between these categories, all of whom including the editors were originally related by a common purpose. However, by the end of the period, education theory workers are distinguished and seen as the major agents for intellectual practices in the developing field of education. The notion of education practitioners using the journal as the forum for sharing ideas with education theory workers has disappeared, at least for the moment. It is unfortunate that the editors stop publishing editorials after 1989. We are not certain how they now see their relationship with the reader.



## 5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have inferred from the editorials the distributive rules and recontextualizing rules for regulating the production of discourse in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. We have suggested that the editors are playing the role of mediators between the fields of State and intellectuals. They have a double role. On one hand, they have the task of initiating the intellectuals to contribute to modernization through production of “modernized” discourse of production. On the other hand, they are gatekeepers for the State so that the discourse that is being produced would not become a source of challenge to the fundamentals of the socialist order.

We then proceeded to infer the distributive rules by examining in detail the editorials. We proposed that the editors fulfilled their double role of editorship by shifting between two distributive rules, namely, elaborated ideological orientation and restricted ideological orientation. When the editors announced in their editorials an elaborated ideological orientation, it meant a more diverse range of legitimate positions for intellectual practices was tolerated by the State and could be admitted into the

discourse of education. Thus elaborated ideological orientation denoted a less tense ideological conflicts in the wider society and thus the concern of the State was more about educational development. When restricted ideological orientation was announced by the editors, the range of legitimate positions for the production of discourse would be much less. A previous acceptable position might now be regarded as unacceptable by the State.

Through a careful study of the Central Government's documents and speeches from important national figures, together with the discussion made in the editorials, we are able to infer the ways in which the editors had shifted between elaborated and restricted ideological orientations. To present the general trend graphically, we have produced the following chart (Figure. 5.3):

Figure 5.3      A Summary of Distribution of Different Types of Documents Quoted in the Editorials and the Relevant Ideological Orientations of the Editorials.

| Nature of Documents Being Quoted | Year |      |      |      |      |      |
|----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|                                  | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 |
| Ideology                         | *    |      | *    |      |      | *    |
| National Development             |      | ***  |      | *    | *    |      |
| Development                      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Educational Development          |      |      | *    | *    | *    | *    |
| Ideological Orientation          | RIO  | EIO  | RIO  | EIO  | EIO  | EIO  |

RIO = Restricted Ideological Orientation  
EIO = Elaborated Ideological Orientation

If we include the years in which no documents and political speeches were referred by the editors, we have the following:

Figure 5.4      Ideological Orientation Inferred from the Editorials Between 1979 And 1989

|    | 1979 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 |
|----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| IO | EIO  | EIO  | RIO  | EIO  | RIO  | EIO  | EIO  | EIO  | EIO  | EIO  |

IO: Ideological Orientation  
RIO = Restricted Ideological Orientation  
EIO = Elaborated Ideological Orientation

Despite the zig zag nature of the regulatory function exercised by the editorial, the overall trend is that the source of legitimacy for intellectual practices in the developing field of education is moving to the very notion of educational development itself. Educational development is thus transformed



into a source of legitimacy from a strategy of development. The role of Deng Xiaopeng is interesting in this process because it was all triggered by his inscription to an elite school in Beijing which simply says that “education has to face modernization, the world and the future” on 1st, October, 1983. One and a half year later (27, May 1985), the Chinese Government released the important document “The Decision on the Reform of Education Structure by the Central Committee.”

At this point we are not certain the exact process in which Deng’s initiative was translated into the framework of educational reform officially adopted in 1985, but the importance of the statement can clearly be reflected from the following quotation in the 1986 editorial,

“We must use the Marxist theory as the guide, to follow the four fundamental principles, to insist on the “three faces”, to uphold the Party's “double hundred policy” and to use the major practical and theoretical problems now facing educational reform and construction as the basis to discuss the theoretical issues that concern us. ” (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 1/1986:80).

Yet, it is also possible for us to identify the underlying ideological constraints. Clearly, the years between 1981 and 1985 were crucial in terms of the regulation exercised by the editors. We consider that the inscription given by Deng and the subsequent released document on educational reform has been crucial in offering the editors the legitimacy to shift their concern towards educational reform, rather than ideological control. This can also be reflected from the more and more harsh tone used by the editors in their editorials to request for more space for the production of discourse. We have also demonstrated that the most critical comment was made in their 1989 editorial. Several months later, in mid-1989, students, with the support of a large number of intellectuals and other citizens, took their case of requesting for more freedom to the street. This democratic movement [66] was suppressed by the State in June.

We shall now move to the summary on the

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66 Although the movement was often called the 1989 democratic movement, in fact students and other protesters in the movement were mainly calling for less control exercised by the Government on news, individuals to express their thoughts and organize free trade and student unions.

recontextualisation rules inferred from the editorials. Here we examine how the new educational ideology as delineated at the level of distribution rules are transformed into the parameters within which the educational discourses are produced. As suggested by Bernstein, recontextualising rules are constituted by instructional discourse (what) embedded into the regulative discourse (how). In this chapter, we have mainly examined the regulative discourse as projected from the editors' advice.

In this chapter, we suggested that the most distinguishing feature about discursive production is the equal epistemological status of theory and practice that they share with each other. The editors have never suggested that the production of theories should be about abstract generalizations of practices. For them theory and practice were both possible paths to the truths about and in education. In this chapter, we suggest that two notions about the nature of education theory have been delineated in the editorials. The first is that education theory is about expressions of fundamental expressions about the nature of education. The second is that the development of education should be associated



with practice.

These two notions, however, are announced in the form of epistemological appeal, instead of supremacy. In this way, theories other than Marxist, Leninist and Maoist theories are implicitly suggested as potential constituents of what are called by the editors as the fundamental theories. Again, this should not be taken to mean a total liberalization of production of discourses as the editors might shift to restricted ideological orientation when the state wanted to launch an ideological battle.

Further, we found that in the editorials the categories of education theory worker and educational practitioner are used separately by the editors. In the early 80's, both categories were thought of sharing the same type of practices. However, we detected towards the end of 80's, the editors were beginning to address more to the education theory workers than the educational practitioners. We suggested that this might well be due to the recognition by the editors that the theory workers were the main contributors of the essays. Thus the appeals went mainly

to them. Nonetheless the specific role of practice is still preserved.

In the next two chapters, we shall use the discourse of moral education in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* as an example to illustrate the way in which discourses on education are permitted to be constructed after the Cultural Revolution.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Actors, Citations and the Discourse On Moral Education

#### 6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we shall outline the general development of the discourse on moral education as reflected in the authors' institutional affiliation and sources of citation in the papers.

We regard these two sets of data (actors and sources of citations) essential to informing us of the general characteristics of the discourse of moral education as presented in the journal. In the first place, from our analysis of the editorials in the last chapter, we have pointed out that, through the editorials, the editors call for a dialogue between the theoreticians and practitioners. An analysis of the authors' institutional affiliation can give us an indication about the nature of the agents active in the production of discourse. For example, in a discourse which is in essence about the construction of a new socialist ideology, it is a matter of interest to know who the main actors in constructing the



pedagogic discourse of this new socialist ideology are. Thus it would also be important for us to examine what are the new sources for recontextualisation that is essential in constructing this new voice. Therefore, it is also important to examine the sources of citations in the papers.

## 6.1 Location of Agents

We shall begin with an analysis of the location of the authors. As suggested in previous chapters, *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* has a number of groups of target audience and authors. Our analysis of the editorials of the journal in previous chapters shows that the editors have used “educational theoretician”, “educational practitioners” and “educational workers” as terms for their readers and authors. In the last chapter, we have also suggested that towards the end of the eighties, there was evidence in the editorials that the editors have called for more participation from academics in educational research. It is thus important to locate the field location of the authors in the journal. Before we go into the details of our analysis, we shall discuss some of the methodological issues in analysing the institutional affiliation of

the authors.

However, there is an internal problem here because there are a number of authors whose institutional affiliation has not been given in the papers.

## **6.2 The Problem of Authors Classified under the Category “Not Shown”**

We have to deal with the fact that of all author categories we have examined in the thesis, the second largest category is a category in which the institutional affiliation of the authors has not been published by the journal. In this thesis, it is classified as “Not Shown”, which makes up 20.7% of the total number of authors in this domain (the number is slightly less when calculated in terms of the total number of papers in the domain, because some papers are co-authored). The majority of papers written by authors from the “Not Shown” category were published in the early years (between 1981 and 1983, 66.7% of the total number of papers, i.e. thirty six papers out of a total of fifty four papers, were published). We have discovered that as a practice, the journal did not publish

the institutional affiliation of the authors in the journal published between January 1981 and June 1981. Cross-referenced with some later papers, we know that at least some papers are written by authors from academic and research institutions. No reason for such practice is given by the journal. From the point of view of the editorial board, it is as if the institutional affiliation of the authors bears no relation to the content of the paper and so there is no need for the readers to know about it. It might suggest a form of democracy of participation in which it is the contribution of the paper that is regarded as crucial and not the institutional affiliation. Nonetheless this practice was abandoned five months later. This has accounted for seventeen papers (twenty-two authors). Papers from the other thirty-two authors appear in other issues. Even if we only take into consideration these thirty-two authors, it is still a very large author category.

We do not know where the authors of this group come from. They may either send in the papers without even attaching their institutional affiliation, or they may belong to some “work units” which the journal is unable or not willing to disclose. Added to



this problem, it may also be the case that some names are pseudonyms, which is a popular practice in the literary circle in contemporary China.

One example may serve to illustrate the situation. From our interview, we know that in one case, Zhang Jian has written two papers on moral education during our research period (Zhang, 2/81 and 9/89). Using the classification of ideological orientation we developed earlier chapters, the papers written by Zhang as bearer of traditional collectivism [67]. Later we found out that he is a senior researcher in the Central Institute of Educational Research, which is the administering unit for the journal. His paper is seen as carrying certain “ideological weight” as he is a senior figure in the research institute. However, his institutional affiliation has never been mentioned in the journal.

### 6.3 Institutional Affiliation of the Authors

In the following, we shall specify the original nine

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67 A more detailed way to analyse the papers will be given in the

categories we use to classify the location of the agents.

1) University and College (Education)

Agents located in University and College (Education) are academics who lecture in normal universities, national, municipal and local teacher training institutions. Examples of this category include Beijing Normal University, South China Normal University.

2) University and College (Other)

Agents located in University and College (Other) are academics from universities and colleges which are not wholly related to teacher training and/or educational studies. These institutions range from military colleges, colleges of political and legal studies to provincial general universities. Some universities, for example, University of Hangzhou, do have a department of education. However, it is difficult to locate whether the author (s) of any paper work(s) in a department of education or not.

### 3) Research Institute (Education)

The name Research Institutes (Education) may be self-explanatory. Some of them are affiliated to universities. We understand from our interview with Chinese scholars that researchers in these research institutes do lecture in universities, but their main job is to carry out research (called investigation and research in China). Some authors put down a provincial association of educational studies as their institutional affiliation. This will still be included in this category.

### 4) Research Institute (Other)

Research Institute (Other) refers mainly to research institutes of social sciences. Examples in this category include the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences or social science research institutes at the provincial level.

### 5) Party Organization

Party Organization refers to any formal unit of the Chinese Communist Party. This may be within or outside any educational institutions. Thus, it may refer to, for example, a party branch in



Qinghua University in Beijing or a school for Party cadres.

Sometimes a Party branch may have its own office for educational research. In this case, we still regard the agency as a Party organization.

#### 6) Government Organization

Government Organization refers to all governmental administrative units of education at the central or provincial level. This may include, for example, provincial education commissions or an officer working in a provincial or national education bureau.

#### 7) Schools (Primary schools and Secondary schools)

Authors from this category work in primary and secondary schools. They may be teachers or school administrators.

#### 8) Others

Examples of this category include editors of the journal and students. The number of appearance is rare and therefore may be better grouped under the category others.

9) Not Shown

This category refers to the authors whose institutional affiliation is not printed in the journal. From cross-referencing with other materials, we know that some of the authors in this category are academics or editors of the journal, but for some reasons, their institutional affiliation are not printed.

In accordance with this classification scheme we have designed, we produced the following two tables to show the changes of the distributions of authors of the papers across the period 1978-1993.

Table 6.1      The Distribution of Authors in Various Institutions  
between 1979 and 1993

|  | 79       | 80       | 81        | 82        | 83        | 84        | 85        | 86        | 87        | 88        | 89        | 90        | 91        | 92        | 93       | T          |
|--|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|------------|
| University and<br>College<br>(Education) | 1        | 0        | 14        | 6         | 6         | 4         | 5         | 5         | 5         | 14        | 10        | 7         | 10        | 5         | 4        | 96         |
| University and<br>College<br>(Other)     | 0        | 1        | 3         | 10        | 1         | 4         | 2         | 1         | 1         | 0         | 2         | 4         | 4         | 3         | 1        | 37         |
| Research<br>Institute<br>(Education)     | 0        | 0        | 0         | 4         | 1         | 1         | 2         | 3         | 0         | 0         | 1         | 2         | 2         | 4         | 2        | 22         |
| Research<br>(Other)                      | 0        | 0        | 0         | 1         | 1         | 1         | 0         | 2         | 0         | 1         | 0         | 0         | 0         | 0         | 0        | 6          |
| Party<br>Organization                    | 0        | 0        | 2         | 1         | 1         | 1         | 0         | 0         | 0         | 1         | 0         | 1         | 1         | 0         | 1        | 9          |
| Government<br>organization               | 0        | 0        | 0         | 1         | 0         | 0         | 2         | 0         | 0         | 1         | 0         | 0         | 2         | 1         | 0        | 7          |
| Schools<br>(Primary and<br>Secondary)    | 0        | 0        | 1         | 1         | 2         | 3         | 0         | 0         | 3         | 0         | 1         | 4         | 2         | 2         | 0        | 19         |
| Others                                   | 0        | 0        | 2         | 1         | 1         | 1         | 2         | 0         | 1         | 0         | 0         | 2         | 0         | 0         | 1        | 11         |
| Not Shown                                | 0        | 0        | 22        | 7         | 7         | 2         | 1         | 2         | 1         | 3         | 7         | 2         | 0         | 0         | 0        | 54         |
| <i>Total</i>                             | <b>1</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>44</b> | <b>32</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>17</b> | <b>14</b> | <b>13</b> | <b>11</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>21</b> | <b>22</b> | <b>21</b> | <b>15</b> | <b>9</b> | <b>261</b> |

Table 6.1 shows the absolute number of the institutional affiliation of the authors but because the total number of author changes every year, the comparison between years would be easier if we change to percentages, which we have produced in Table 6.2. We also need to point out that in these two tables, the total number of authors exceeds the number of papers published by the journal across the period. This is because some papers are written by two or even three authors, who may have different institutional



affiliation. They are thus put under different author categories.

Table 6.2      The Distribution of Authors in Various Institutions  
between 1979 and 1993 Expressed in Percentage  
(All figures below are expressed in percentage)

|         | 79  | 80  | 81   | 82   | 83  | 84   | 85   | 86   | 87   | 88  | 89   | 90   | 91   | 92   | 93   | T    |
|---------|-----|-----|------|------|-----|------|------|------|------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| U&C (E) | 100 | 0   | 31.8 | 18.8 | 30  | 23.5 | 35.7 | 38.5 | 45.5 | 70  | 47.6 | 31.8 | 47.6 | 33.3 | 44.4 | 36.8 |
| U&C (O) | 0   | 100 | 6.8  | 31.3 | 5   | 23.5 | 14.3 | 7.7  | 9.1  | 0   | 9.5  | 18.2 | 19   | 20   | 11.1 | 14.2 |
| RI (E)  | 0   | 0   | 0    | 12.5 | 5   | 5.9  | 14.3 | 23.1 | 0    | 0   | 4.8  | 9.1  | 9.5  | 26.7 | 22.2 | 8.4  |
| RI (O)  | 0   | 0   | 0    | 3.1  | 5   | 5.9  | 0    | 15.4 | 0    | 5   | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 2.3  |
| PO      | 0   | 0   | 4.5  | 3.1  | 5   | 5.9  | 0    | 0    | 0    | 5   | 0    | 4.5  | 4.8  | 0    | 11.1 | 3.4  |
| GO      | 0   | 0   | 0    | 3.1  | 0   | 0    | 14.3 | 0    | 0    | 5   | 0    | 0    | 9.5  | 6.7  | 0    | 2.7  |
| Sch     | 0   | 0   | 2.3  | 3.1  | 10  | 17.6 | 0    | 0    | 27.3 | 0   | 4.8  | 18.2 | 9.5  | 13.3 | 0    | 7.3  |
| O       | 0   | 0   | 4.5  | 3.1  | 5   | 5.9  | 14.3 | 0    | 9.1  | 0   | 0    | 9.1  | 0    | 0    | 0    | 4.2  |
| NS      | 0   | 0   | 50   | 21.9 | 35  | 11.8 | 7.1  | 15.4 | 9.1  | 15  | 33.3 | 9.1  | 0    | 0    | 0    | 20.7 |
| Total   | 100 | 100 | 100  | 100  | 100 | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100 | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  |

U&C (E): University and College (Education)  
U&C (O): University and College (Other)  
RI (E): Research Institute (Education)  
RI (O): Research Institute (Other)  
PO: Party Organization  
GO: Government Organization  
Sch: Schools (Primary schools and Secondary schools)  
O: Others  
NS: Not Shown

From these two tables, there is a clear trend with respect to the change in the institutional affiliation of agents. Despite the editors’ effort in the editorials to address different agents in the field of education, most papers published on the issue of moral

education are written by academics. On average, between 1978-1993, academics in universities and colleges (both education and others) contributed 51% (36.8% + 14.2%, that is 133 authors) of all the papers published on moral education. Another 10.7% (28 authors) of the total number of papers published were written by researchers from either educational research institutes or social sciences research institutes. Excluding 20.7% of the authors (54 authors) who were classified as not shown, there was only about 16.9% of the authors (46 authors) who came from party and government organizations, schools and others.

It is also clear that the cells are too small to make any meaningful analysis and we have merged some categories to form four larger categories.

By re-arranging the categories, we have produced Table 6.3, in which four new categories are used to show the trend:

*Institutions specialized in educational theories (IET):* combining universities and colleges (education and others) and research institutes (education and others)

*Institutions specializing in educational ideology (IEI): Party Organizations*

*Institutions specializing in educational practices (IEP): combining governmental organizations, schools and others*

*Not shown (NS)*

Table 6.3      The Distribution of IET, IEI, IEP and NS Agents  
between 1979 and 1993  
(All figures below are expressed in percentage)  
(Numbers in brackets are number of papers)

|     | 79         | 80         | 81           | 82           | 83        | 84           | 85          | 86           | 87          | 88         | 89           | 90           | 91           | 92         | 93          | 79-93         |
|-----|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| IET | 100<br>(1) | 100<br>(1) | 38.6<br>(17) | 65.7<br>(21) | 45<br>(9) | 58.8<br>(11) | 64.3<br>(9) | 84.7<br>(11) | 54.6<br>(6) | 75<br>(15) | 61.9<br>(13) | 59.1<br>(13) | 76.1<br>(16) | 80<br>(12) | 77.7<br>(7) | 61.7<br>(161) |
| IEI | 0<br>(0)   | 0<br>(0)   | 4.5<br>(2)   | 3.1<br>(1)   | 5<br>(1)  | 5.9<br>(1)   | 0<br>(0)    | 0<br>(0)     | 0<br>(0)    | 5<br>(1)   | 0<br>(0)     | 4.5<br>(1)   | 4.8<br>(1)   | 0<br>(0)   | 11.1<br>(1) | 3.4<br>(9)    |
| IEP | 0<br>(0)   | 0<br>(0)   | 6.8<br>(3)   | 9.3<br>(3)   | 15<br>(3) | 23.5<br>(4)  | 28.6<br>(4) | 0<br>(0)     | 36.4<br>(4) | 5<br>(1)   | 4.8<br>(1)   | 27.3<br>(6)  | 19<br>(4)    | 20<br>(3)  | 11.1<br>(1) | 14.2<br>(37)  |
| NS  | 0<br>(0)   | 0<br>(0)   | 50<br>(22)   | 21.9<br>(7)  | 35<br>(7) | 11.8<br>(2)  | 7.1<br>(1)  | 15.4<br>(2)  | 9.1<br>(1)  | 15<br>(3)  | 33.3<br>(7)  | 9.1<br>(2)   | 0<br>(0)     | 0<br>(0)   | 0<br>(0)    | 20.7<br>(54)  |

IET: Institutions specialising in educational theory  
IEI: Institutions specialising in educational ideology  
IEP: Institutions specialising in educational practices  
NS: Not shown

With the exception of the years 1979 and 1980 [68], there is a clear trend of the growing participation of authors from institutions specialising in educational theories. The growth, however, is not a linear development. In 1986, 84.7% of all authors (11 out of 13 authors) are from institutions specializing in

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68      The journal only published one paper each in the year 1979 and 1980, and therefore any calculation of percentage may give a



educational theories. In 1987, this went down to 54.6% (6 out of 11 authors) and the percentage went steadily upwards until 1990, when it went down again to 59.1% (13 out of 22 authors). Then it rose again and in 1993 77.7% of the authors come from this category (IET) (7 out of 9 authors).

However, authors from institutions specialising in educational ideology and practices continue to play a significant, though diminished, part in the shaping of educational discourse.

We shall discuss authors affiliated to Party organizations first. It is clear from table 6.3 that the journal editors do not choose to publish papers written by authors in this group every year. This is surprising. One would have expected agents from Party organisations to be active in producing the discourse of moral education. This is not the case. Over the years, only 3.4% of all authors (9 authors) are from this category. We have to be careful in interpreting this phenomenon. It may be the case that one paper published by an author from this category would speak a

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misleading picture.

louder ideological voice than in any other papers.

For IEP agents, the percentages of papers from IEP agents selected for publication ranges from 9.3% in 1981 (3 out of 44 authors) to 36.4% in 1987 (4 out of 11 authors) and then to 27.3% in 1990 (6 out of 22 authors). Thus participation from the practitioners was still very limited.

There is a diminishing percentage of authors from the “not shown” category. In 1981, 50% of all authors (22 out of 44 authors) issue was from this category. In 1986, this became 15.4% (2 out of 13 authors). Although in 1989, the figure was 33.3% (7 out of 21 authors), most of whom had their papers published after June 1989, the figure continued to reduce until 1991, and for the following three consecutive years, none of the authors was from this category.

#### 6.4 Location of Agents: Conclusion

In the West, the majority of agents active in the field of educational research are from academic institutions. It is normally the case that the more prestigious the journal, the more its authors come from prestigious academic institutions. Indeed, its prestige is basically derived from the abstract nature of discourse produced in the journal and only academics who have gone through suitable training programmes are deemed able to participate in the production of theory discourse. This, however, does not mean all journals have academics as their target audience. Some journals do have practitioners as their target audience and thus welcome contributions from practitioners. However, it is unlikely that one single journal will have two very different groups of target audience. It is rare for these journals to be a forum mediating the relationship between theoretical studies and practitioners' studies.

The case of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* presents a different situation. It is regarded as the most influential journal education journal in China



[69]. In the analysis of the editorials, we found out that the editors placed great emphasis on the role of the journal as a platform for a dialogue between theoretician and practitioner. Our analysis here seems to confirm this. Nonetheless, it is clear that academics from tertiary institutions are given a stronger voice while practitioners are given a weaker voice (Table 6.3). Moreover, we have pointed out that it is an interesting phenomenon that there were relatively fewer papers from authors who worked for Party organizations.

Furthermore, as suggested above, since 1990, there are not any authors without any institutional affiliation. We think this trend is likely to continue. This shows that the development in the last 15 years (1978-1993) is a movement from the non-institutionalisation to the institutionalisation of author affiliation. It thus denotes a growing recognition of the institutional location of the author by the journal.

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69 One informant during our interview in China told us that a study of citation in the literature of Chinese educational research has confirmed that the journal is the most frequently cited journal in the Chinese literature on educational research. No confirmation of the claim was provided in the interview. Our own analysis of the readers of educational research produced in Chinese, however, tends to confirm this claim.

## 6.5 Sources of Citation

A second feature of the field, which may help us to understand the development of the educational discourse with respect to moral education, is in the sources of citation in the papers published in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* under the category moral education. As suggested earlier, citation used by authors in the papers is a useful indicator to illustrate the intellectual source of the argument developed by the authors. Moreover, the range of citations within any paper indicates the range of legitimate positions used by the authors and accepted by the journal editors, who act as both the ideological and academic gatekeepers of educational discourse for the State. Thus, any changes in the range of citations used in the papers may be regarded as an index indicating changes in what constitute legitimate academic practices.

We may identify two levels of analysis with respect to sources of citation.

At the first level, we ask this question: to what extent is citation itself becoming more frequent among the authors as the discourse of moral education develops? The expectation is that the academic development of educational discourse necessitates more extensive use of citations. The use of citations in any paper means that the lines of argument developed in any such papers are being made with reference to arguments in other texts. It denotes certain forms of communication between agents within the field of education or between various fields. The hypothesis here is, therefore, the stronger the development of the field, the more extensive the citation practices.

At the second level, we enquire into the nature of citation practices in the papers. The task here is to identify the textual sources from which citations in the papers published in the journal are drawn. In previous chapters, we suggest that the movement of the paper orientation is from ideological to pedagogical. One simple expectation is that the development of educational discourse we hypothesise would entail a gradual shift of citation sources from ideological texts to pedagogic texts. Ideological



source here refers to a text which is concerned with the elaboration and extension of an ideo-political position taken from a statement, speech or work of senior figures, or a resolution endorsed by the Party. Pedagogic source here refers to a text which is developed as a text for academic purposes within the field of education.

According to this perspective, any source of citation used by any author in preparing papers for publication in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* is either derived from an ideological text, pedagogic text or both.

In our analysis, two counts will be made. The first is to count the number of papers which contain ideological and/or pedagogic sources in each paper every year. Two sets of figures are being compared here.

- (a) the number of papers that contain citation and the number of papers that do not contain any citation.
- (b) the number of papers that use ideological texts for citation purposes and the number of paper that use pedagogic texts for citation purposes.

The second count is in the frequency of ideological and/or pedagogic texts used in all the papers every year. At this level, only one set of figure can be obtained for comparison. It is the frequency of using ideological citations and/or pedagogic citations in all papers in any one year.

## 6.6 Sources of Citation in the Papers

Our first search is to look at the extent to which citation is used in the papers that are published by *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* with respect to moral education (Table 6.4).

**Table 6.4      The Number Of Papers on Moral Education that  
Contains and Do Not Contain Citation**

| Year    | C(+) | C(-) | T   |
|---------|------|------|-----|
| 1979    | 0    | 1    | 1   |
| 1980    | 1    | 0    | 1   |
| 1981    | 10   | 16   | 26  |
| 1982    | 12   | 15   | 27  |
| 1983    | 10   | 8    | 18  |
| 1984    | 10   | 5    | 15  |
| 1985    | 9    | 4    | 13  |
| 1986    | 6    | 6    | 12  |
| 1987    | 5    | 5    | 10  |
| 1988    | 14   | 4    | 18  |
| 1989    | 9    | 10   | 19  |
| 1990    | 9    | 10   | 19  |
| 1991    | 8    | 10   | 18  |
| 1992    | 9    | 3    | 12  |
| 1993    | 5    | 4    | 9   |
| Total   | 117  | 111  | 228 |
| Average | 8    | 7    |     |

**C(+):** Number of papers that contain citation

**C(-):** Number of papers that do not contain citation

**T: Total number of paper published on moral education in any one year**

**It is clear from the above that over the period 1978-1993,**

*Jiaoyu Yanjiu* only published slightly more papers containing

citation than papers that do not contain any citation. Over the

years, the number of citation papers is 117 while 111 papers do not

contain any citation. There are years when there is a large gap

between the number of citation papers and non-citation papers

(1981, 1984, 1988 and 1992) but there are years when the gap is

small (1982, 1983, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993). It is thus difficult for us



to observe any significant trend. However, it must be noted that half of the papers do not contain any citations.

It seems that although there is a consistent trend for most of the contributors of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* to come from institutions specializing in educational theory, this is not accompanied by the dominance of the number of citation papers.

We shall now turn to look at the nature of the citation papers.

#### **6.6.1 Pedagogic and/or Ideological Sources in Citation**

Our task here is to examine more closely the nature of citation used in the citation papers.

After a careful reading of the citations, we have specified below what counts as ideological and pedagogic text in the citation:

Ideological sources:

- citations drawn from the works of Mao
- citations drawn from the works of Deng
- citations drawn from the documents, resolutions endorsed by any Party conference, Central Committee meetings, as well as speeches given by senior Party figures
- citations drawn from the works of Marx and Engels
- citations drawn from the works of Lenin
- citations drawn from the documents, resolutions endorsed by the Soviet Communist Party

Pedagogic sources:

- citations drawn from any contemporary academic works in any books, chapters or journal papers
- citations drawn from any Chinese traditional books, examples of which is the works of Confucius
- citations drawn from any Western academic papers and books on any educational, psychological and other theories
- citations drawn from any academic papers and books published in (the former) Soviet Union

Based on the above scheme of classification of texts we produce above, we have produced the following tables to illustrate the relationship between the use of ideological text and pedagogic text over the years.

Table 6.5 gives a breakdown of the use of pedagogic and ideological texts at the level of papers. The number in the table

refers to the number of papers where we can identify the use of a pedagogic text or an ideological text in the citation.

Table 6.5      Citations from Ideological Sources and Pedagogic Sources

| Year  | P(IS)     | P(PS)         |
|-------|-----------|---------------|
| 1981  | 7         | 6             |
| 1982  | 11        | 6             |
| 1983  | 4         | 7             |
| 1984  | 10        | 7             |
| 1985  | 9         | 3             |
| 1986  | 3         | 6             |
| 1987  | 1         | 6             |
| 1988  | 6         | 8             |
| 1989  | 6         | 5             |
| 1990  | 8         | 7             |
| 1991  | 5         | 5             |
| 1992  | 3         | 9             |
| 1993  | 3         | 3             |
| Total | 76(49.4%) | 78(50.6%)[70] |

P(IT)     : number of papers using ideological sources as their citation  
P(PT)     : number of papers using pedagogic sources as their citation

It seems that at the level of papers, there is no difference between the number of papers containing ideological and pedagogic sources in citation. The difference between the use of

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70      The total number of paper containing pedagogic text (78) and ideological text (76) is more than the total number of “citation paper” (117) because there are papers which contain both ideological and pedagogic texts.



pedagogic and ideological citations is, however, greater when we consider the frequency of citations in the papers in each year.

Table 6.6      The Frequency of Ideological and Pedagogic Sources

| Year    | IS          | PS          |
|---------|-------------|-------------|
| 1981    | 42          | 37          |
| 1982    | 62          | 44          |
| 1983    | 24          | 44          |
| 1984    | 49          | 34          |
| 1985    | 17          | 10          |
| 1986    | 13          | 30          |
| 1987    | 5           | 40          |
| 1988    | 11          | 45          |
| 1989    | 59          | 31          |
| 1990    | 23          | 13          |
| 1991    | 21          | 48          |
| 1992    | 13          | 42          |
| 1993    | 6           | 11          |
| Total   | 348 (44.7%) | 430 (55.3%) |
| Average | 27          | 32          |

IT:        The frequency of using ideological sources for citation in any one year  
PT:        The frequency of using pedagogic sources for citation in any one year

It appears that at the frequency per year level, the difference between the use of ideological and pedagogic sources is greater than that at the level of papers. However, there is still not a clear trend which suggests that the use of pedagogic sources is becoming dominant. However, up to 1985, ideological text predominates in 4 out of 5 years. After this period, ideological text

predominates only for the years of the Tiananmen Incident (i.e. 1989 and 1990). Thus from this point of view, we can see a movement from ideological sources to pedagogic sources in citation. From Table 6.6, it is clear that the total number of pedagogic sources is greater than that of ideological sources. Although we have shown the impact of the Party on editorials, it may be safer to re-cast our hypothesis, not in terms of a trend, but in terms of an overall movement across the whole period. On the whole, it is fair to conclude that there is a trend for more papers using pedagogic sources in citation being published by the editors. Thus, although contributors are using more pedagogic sources in their citation, they are not publishing more papers solely using pedagogic texts as the citation. It is the case that a pedagogic text is now accepted as a legitimate source of citation, rather than replace the ideological text in the construction of the discourse on moral education.

We can further explore the relationship between the use of ideological and the use of pedagogic text as sources by examining the preponderance of each source of citation in all the papers

across the years. We are here examining whether pedagogic sources of citations are replacing ideological sources or are accepted as a legitimate source of citation. There are four logical possibilities for papers containing ideological sources in their citation:

- (i) paper contains ideological sources only;
- (ii) paper contains more ideological sources than pedagogic sources;
- (iii) paper contains more pedagogic sources than ideological sources;
- (iv) paper contains the same number of ideological and pedagogic sources.

In the same way, there are also four logical possibilities for papers containing pedagogic sources in their citation:

- (i) paper contains pedagogic sources only;
- (ii) paper contains more ideological sources than pedagogic sources;
- (iii) paper contains more pedagogic sources than ideological sources;
- (iv) paper contains the same number of ideological and pedagogic sources.



Table 6.7      Frequency of Ideological and Pedagogic Sources in Various Groups of Papers Containing Different Combinations of Ideological Sources and Pedagogic Sources

|       | IS (F) | PS (F) | IS>PS (F) |    | IS<PS (F) |     | IS=PS (F) |
|-------|--------|--------|-----------|----|-----------|-----|-----------|
|       |        |        | IS        | PS | IS        | PS  |           |
| 1981  | 33     | 26     | 3         | 1  | 8         | 10  | 1         |
| 1982  | 36     | 14     | 13        | 6  | 5         | 10  | 0         |
| 1983  | 23     | 39     | 0         | 0  | 1         | 5   | 0         |
| 1984  | 15     | 0      | 12        | 4  | 8         | 20  | 0         |
| 1985  | 11     | 0      | 6         | 3  | 2         | 7   | 0         |
| 1986  | 0      | 17     | 11        | 6  | 0         | 0   | 1         |
| 1987  | 0      | 36     | 5         | 4  | 0         | 0   | 0         |
| 1988  | 6      | 33     | 0         | 0  | 3         | 8   | 0         |
| 1989  | 51     | 8      | 6         | 5  | 2         | 17  | 0         |
| 1990  | 3      | 2      | 16        | 4  | 2         | 3   | 2         |
| 1991  | 15     | 15     | 0         | 0  | 6         | 24  | 0         |
| 1992  | 0      | 15     | 9         | 1  | 3         | 19  | 1         |
| 1993  | 4      | 9      | 0         | 0  | 0         | 0   | 2         |
| Total | 197    | 214    | 81        | 34 | 40        | 103 | 7         |

IT(F): frequency of ideological sources in papers which contain ideological sources only  
PT(F): frequency of pedagogic sources in papers which contain pedagogic sources only  
IT>PT(F)-IT: frequency of ideological sources in papers which contain more ideological sources than pedagogic sources  
IT>PT(F)-PT: frequency of pedagogic sources in papers which contain more ideological sources than pedagogic sources  
IT<PT(F)-IT: frequency of ideological sources in papers which contain more pedagogic sources than ideological sources  
IT<PT(F)-PT: frequency of pedagogic sources in papers which contain more pedagogic sources than ideological sources  
IT=PT(F): frequency of sources in papers which contain the same number of ideological sources and pedagogic sources

Table 6.7 shows that the total frequency of ideological sources is somewhat less than the frequency of pedagogic sources. However, it will be noted that in 1989, there are 51 ideological

sources for citation due to Tiananmen Incident (June 1989). If that incident has not occurred, we can possibly assume that with regard to the distribution, the above frequency for ideological sources would have been markedly less. It would be safer to argue that the total frequency of pedagogic citations is much greater than the frequency of ideological citations.

Furthermore, if we look at the total number of ideological sources, where the frequency of ideological sources is greater than pedagogic sources, the difference between the two is 47. In contrast, when we examine the converse, that is, where there are more pedagogic sources than ideological sources, the difference is 63 more pedagogic sources than ideological sources.

It seems, therefore, across the whole period, there is a movement towards increasing use of pedagogic sources rather than ideological sources. We must emphasise here that we are in no way suggesting that pedagogical citations are replacing ideological citations. Only that there is increasing emphasis on pedagogic sources across the whole period.

The last analysis we will carry out will be to examine the relative frequency of ideological sources and pedagogic sources in citations across various categories of authors.

Table 6.8      The Proportion of the Frequency of Ideological and Pedagogic Sources Used in the Papers Published in Various Author Categories

|  | Tota | %    |
|--|------|------|
| IET agents - frequency of ideological sources in the papers: | 192  | 37.9 |
| - frequency of pedagogic sources in the papers:              | 315  | 62.1 |
| IEI agents - frequency of ideological sources in the papers: | 48   | 72.7 |
| - frequency of pedagogic sources in the papers:              | 18   | 27.3 |
| IEP agents - frequency of ideological sources in the papers: | 17   | 32.7 |
| - frequency of pedagogic sources in the papers:              | 35   | 67.3 |
| Agents(NS) - frequency of ideological sources in the papers: | 91   | 59.5 |
| - frequency of pedagogic sources in the papers:              | 62   | 40.5 |
| All groups - frequency of ideological sources in the papers: | 124  | 48.6 |
| - frequency of pedagogic sources in the papers:              | 133  | 51.4 |

The table shows that all authors, except IEI authors (from Party organizations) use greater frequency of pedagogic sources than ideological sources in their citations.

6.7      The General Development: Conclusion

Most authors of the papers published in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* come from what we have called institutions specialising in educational



theory. These authors are essentially academics working in universities and research institutes. However, there are also a significant number of authors who come from schools, government administrative agencies and Party organizations. This is consistent with the findings from the analysis of the editorials which suggests that the journal is intended to be a bridge between various positions in the field of education. This, from the point of view of the journal, means a dialogue between what the editors call the education theory workers and educational practitioners.

The hypothesis that there would be a replacing of ideological sources in citations by pedagogic sources has not been confirmed. Our study of the development of moral education suggests that throughout the 15 years of publication, there is a co-existence of pedagogic and ideological sources. However, when we change the count from the number of papers to the relative frequency of ideological and pedagogic sources, the picture changes. It is quite clear from the table (Table 6.6) that, across the period, there is a greater use of pedagogic sources than ideological sources.

In the next chapter, we shall return to our original distinction between traditional collectivism and regulated individualism. We shall examine the content of the papers in order to explore how ideological positions are translated into modalities of moral education.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### The Nature of the Discourse of Moral Education: Traditional Collectivism and Regulated Individualism

#### 7.0 Introduction

In the last chapter, we gave a general description of the moral education discourse. We also outlined the pattern of the institutional affiliation of the authors and the ways in which citations are used in their papers. On the whole, it is discovered that most papers published in the journal on moral education are written by academics, but education practitioners and Party officers have also contributed to a limited number of papers. Moreover, through analysing the citations used in the papers, it is found that the hypothesis that the development of discourse of moral education would be reflected in a growing replacement of citations derived from ideological sources by pedagogic sources does not hold. However we do have discovered that there was a greater emphasis on the frequency of pedagogic citations over the period.



Our next step in the research is to see whether we can identify the ideological positions realized in the content of on the papers published by the journal *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* on moral education.

## 7.1 About the papers

We need to give a brief description of the papers that we are going to analyse. As suggested in earlier chapters, these papers are quite different from those published in Western journals. The journal publishes various types of papers, ranging from discussing and advocating what a policy on moral education should contain, to discussing general theories of moral education. There are also papers which, from the point of view of the West, would be regarded as an ideological critique or advocating for changes in policy orientation. Finally, there are also papers that discuss different types of practices in moral education.

Thus, there are different forms in which these papers are written. We should bear in mind that we have shown in the last chapter that only half of the papers are written with citation and therefore citation cannot be used as a basis for classifying papers.

The papers rarely refer to one another. Therefore, compared with other journals in the West, the papers published in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* are relatively short and hence there are relatively more papers in each journal. A typical edition of the journal always contains around 20 papers.

Moreover, in the West, the legitimacy for the production of discourse is regulated by criteria mainly generated from within the arena of study. There is evidence that recently the State is involved more and more in the production of discourse but the influence is mainly exerted through the funding mechanism and institutions that control the mechanism. However, the increase in more intense control exerted by the State over the production is rather indirect (Mace, 1996). In the case of China, as we have suggested in the last chapter, the State is still managing the production of discourse. However, the economic reform launched by the Chinese Government in 1978 has given rise to an arena of education which is increasingly more active in the production of its own discourse, other than the usual ideo-educational discourse. However, it is still short of an autonomous arena of educational

discourse, as traditionally understood in the West. Hence, in this research, we shall propose the hypothesis that the only common point is that all the papers are essentially concerned with moral education and yet they may be derived from two very different discourses of moral education, as we are going to demonstrate in this chapter. .

## **7.2 The Discourse on Moral Education**

In this section, we shall outline the classification procedures which will enable us to describe and analyse changes in the discourse on moral education.

In previous chapters on the editorials, we gave specific descriptions of the ideological boundary set up by the editorials for regulating intellectual practices. This, however, should be distinguished from the actual educational discourse constructed by the educationalists. In our analysis of the editorials, the editors are seen as discursive mediators between the State and the educationalists, albeit the editors occasionally also contribute papers. They select papers sent in by educationalists for



publication in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu*. We do not know whether the editors themselves solicit papers from authors. Even if they do, the editors decide what is appropriate for publication or when certain papers should be published.

We have previously identified two distributive principles which underlie the editorials (see chapter 5). However, it is clear that these principles only serve to circumscribe the formation of educational discourse. In actuality they serve to inform potential contributors of the types of papers which are likely to be selected or required for publication. In a sense, they belong to the editorial discourse, rather than educational discourse. Thus we still need a form of analysis which will enable us to identify if different ideological orientations (traditional collectivism/restricted individualism) actually shape the content of the papers and thus the realisation of moral education.

### **7.3 Classification Procedures**

In the following section, we shall discuss the classificatory procedures for distinguishing the orientation of the papers

published under the topic moral education. Here the unit of analysis is the individual paper. It is also possible for us to change the unit of analysis from the orientation of an individual paper to the orientation of an annual editorial cycle. This means that we could take one year as the basis of our classification. Thus this would make possible the construction of an index of discursive orientation of the editorial cycle.

### **7.3.1 Ideological Orientations and Pedagogic Practice**

It has to be remembered that citations are constructed in terms of whether they are drawn from ideological or pedagogic sources. We shall continue to use this term in this analysis, although the classification will be more refined. Thus any paper can be classified by nature ideological and/or pedagogic. We shall now give the formal definitions of ideological orientation and pedagogic practice.

### 7.3.2 Ideological Orientation

The Ideological orientation of a paper refers to a text that recontextualises political and ideological sources and privileges forms of ideological practice. These are ideological sources legitimated by party documents, resolutions and suggestions made by senior politicians. Papers published with this orientation thus tend to be concerned with the ideological debates in the wider society, as well as the ideological assumptions underlying various forms of pedagogic organisation and practices. They usually take the form of elaborating a recently endorsed document, policy initiative, important policy direction advocated by senior politicians or even a re-reading of the discussion made by important political figures in the light of the current situation.

We propose to hypothesise here that the ideological orientation of a paper (traditional collectivism or restricted individualism) would be associated with the ideological orientation of the time. From this perspective, we are hypothesising that a restricted ideological orientation of the editors give rise to traditional collectivism position of the papers



whilst elaborated ideological orientation is translated into regulated individualism of a paper. This raises certain methodological issues that we shall discuss later.

### 7.3.3 Pedagogic Practice

Pedagogic practice refers to papers that recontextualise pedagogic sources and foreground pedagogic theories and practices. Papers published in this orientation tend to be concerned with educational problems or the pedagogic connotation of certain ideological orientations. These are papers which offer either a theoretical discussion of various models about moral education, or discuss various aspects of the issue. In the specific context of moral education, it is possible to identify various contexts in which this pedagogic orientation is realised. We shall give a detailed account of these contexts later in this chapter.

We shall see whether it is possible to distinguish categories of papers according to:

- the type of ideological orientation, i.e. traditional collectivism or regulated individualism.
- the absence or presence of an ideological orientation in a paper concerned with explicit pedagogic practice.

In principle, the above will give rise to three categories of papers:

- ideological orientation only
- ideological orientation with explicit pedagogic practice
- pedagogic practice without explicit ideological orientation

#### **7.4 The Editorial Policy of *Jiaoyu Yanjiu***

It is appropriate to repeat here the problems of constructing a relationship between an ideological position and a group of papers. In the first place, it is not entirely clear when a change in the Party's ideological positions has effects. There may be signals before the announced change that prepare the grounds for the change and thus the effects may precede the change.

Secondly, the change in the Party's ideological positions

will be mediated through relays other than the journal. As a consequence, to associate change in the ideological orientation of a paper with the editorials may be a matter to be treated tentatively and cautiously.

Thirdly, there is the problem of the interval and the change and the editors' decisions to indicate the consequence of the change in the editorials.

Fourthly, there is a time factor between the editorials, the distribution of the journal, the decision of an author to write and the time of completion of the paper, as well as its acceptance and publication by the editors.

It is true that in the course of carrying out the research, we have had little access to the functioning of the editorial board of the journal. However, from various sources, including interviews with editorial board members and scholars whose papers have been published by the journal, as well as from the journal papers themselves, we are able to gather some information about the



editorial board. For example, from an interview, we know that most of the editorial board members are journalists and not researchers by training. It means that most of the regulators of the field do not come from the field itself.

Furthermore, from our interview, we also know that the journal has an acceptance rate of 16%. This might have changed over time. However, we do not have access to the rejected papers. It is also very likely that the rejected papers will not be categorised. This means that moral education is a large category only in terms of the published papers but we do not know whether it remains a large category when counted in terms of submitted papers. There is also a further possibility that some papers are sent in by invitation, and thus these papers may have gone through a different process of refereeing, either ideological or academic, or even both.

## **7.5 The Problem of Reliability**

We have discussed the problem of validity in chapter four. In this research, especially this chapter, the analysis is based on the

judgement of classifying the paper in accordance with the framework, details of which we are going to discuss below. Thus there is a problem about whether or not the interpretation of which paper falling into which category is reliable among researchers. We have therefore designed an independent assessment form, in which discussions of major concepts that we are going to use in this chapter took place with the assessor and the assessor was invited to use the definitions supplied to classify a sample of papers (10% of total number of papers). The result is 80% accuracy rate. We consider that the accuracy rate is high enough to confirm that the definition of the concepts used in this research is reliable. A full report of the assessment task has been submitted to the examiners and supervisor of this thesis.

## **7.6 Three Periods of Development**

We now explain the ways in which we are going to present the analysis. We would first give a table (Table 7.1) summarising the result of the overall analysis. This table clearly shows changes in the ideological orientations of the papers. We will discuss each period, namely, (i) 1981 – 1984, (ii) 1985 – 1989, and (iii) 1989 –

1993.

We will give examples for each category of papers. The example will take the form of a summary of the major content of the papers.



Table 7.1      The Distribution of Papers in Various categories  
between 1981 and 1993

|           | TC | TC(PP) | RI | RI (PP) | PP | Unclassified |
|-----------|----|--------|----|---------|----|--------------|
| 1981      | 2  | 6      | 0  | 0       | 28 | 2            |
| 1982      | 8  | 6      | 0  | 0       | 13 | 1            |
| 1983      | 2  | 2      | 0  | 0       | 12 | 0            |
| 1984      | 6  | 4      | 0  | 0       | 5  | 0            |
| Sub-total | 18 | 18     | 0  | 0       | 58 | 3            |

|             |   |   |   |    |    |   |
|-------------|---|---|---|----|----|---|
| 1985        | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5  | 6  | 1 |
| 1986        | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1  | 9  | 0 |
| 1987        | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2  | 9  | 0 |
| 1988        | 0 | 1 | 1 | 8  | 9  | 0 |
| Jan-Jun, 89 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4  | 2  | 0 |
| Sub-total   | 0 | 3 | 2 | 20 | 35 | 1 |

|             |   |   |   |   |    |   |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|----|---|
| Jul-Dec, 89 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 9  | 0 |
| 1990        | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 2 |
| 1991        | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 14 | 1 |
| 1992        | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 |
| 1993        | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6  | 1 |
| Sub-total   | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 54 | 4 |

|       |    |    |   |    |     |   |
|-------|----|----|---|----|-----|---|
| Total | 22 | 25 | 3 | 24 | 147 | 8 |
|-------|----|----|---|----|-----|---|

TC: Traditional Collectivism TC(PP):Traditional Collectivism with  
Pedagogic Practice  
RI: Regulated Individualism RI(PP): Regulated Individualism with  
Pedagogic Practice  
PP: Pedagogic Practice

### 7.7.1 Traditional Collectivism: 1981 - 1984

The ideological messages in all these papers (traditional collectivism and restricted individualism) are mostly concerned with constructing the relationship between the individuals and the collectivities to which they belong. The papers, which were published between 1981-1984, are all mainly concerned with traditional collectivism.

As discussed in previous chapters (especially chapter 1), traditional collectivism in essence takes the view that individual considerations should be subsumed under collectivist considerations. Thus, individuals have no roles independent of the relation to the collectivity. Hence, individuals have no functions and roles of their own. Indeed, the possession of individualistic features, functions and roles might be regarded as contaminating the collectivity to which such individuals belong. Individuality in this context can only be derived from a specific position within the collectivity.

In the following, we shall examine the forms that traditional

collectivism takes in this group of papers. It should be noted that in the papers that we are to discuss, a number of terms are used to describe what we are calling traditional collectivism. These include proletariat worldview, communist morality, communist thought and communist education.

Through a careful reading of the papers, we are able to identify three major realisations of traditional collectivism. They are, namely,

- (1) a necessary conscience collective;
- (2) Exemplary teaching from respectable political figures;
- (3) ideological position to combat bad influences imported into China as a result of the open door policy.

We shall now give extended summaries of the various categories of papers.



7.7.1.1      **Traditional Collectivism as a Necessary  
Conscience Collective**

This group of papers argues that traditional collectivism provides the best social morality for contemporary China. Some papers construct the idea by discussing what the most worthwhile philosophy of life to be held by Chinese people in contemporary socialist China is. Other papers discuss the issue from an historical perspective and conclude that traditional collectivism is the only true answer to the development in China.

The following table summarises the number of papers published by the journal between 1981 and 1984 which argue that traditional collectivism is important to a socialist China because of its function as a necessary *conscience collective* for the society itself.

Table 7.2      Number of Papers Published between 1981 and 1984  
Which Define Traditional Collectivism as A  
Necessary *Conscience Collective* for the Chinese  
Society

| Ideological Orientation   | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 |
|---|------|------|------|------|
| Traditional Collectivism as a necessary<br><i>conscience collective</i> for the Chinese society | 1    | 4    | 1    | 3    |

The first paper in the journal that pursues this line of argument was published in May 1981. In the paper, the author,

whose institutional association was not published by the journal, advocates the view that the education of communist morality should be the duty of every member in every aspect of the society. The author used almost half of the paper to explain the importance of the Communist Party in demonstrating leadership on communist morality and thus every member of the Party has the responsibility to fulfil what is expected from the members by the Party (Zhong, 5/1981:56).

In 1982, a total of four papers were published by the journal. In previous chapters, 1982 has already been suggested as a year of restrictive ideological orientation. This means that in this year's editorial, the editors indicate what are counted as taboo areas for the production of discourse. It is also the case that in 1982, all these four papers are all concerned with arguing the case for a socialist morality based on the need to subsume individual interest under the interest of the collective. The author of the first paper published in this year begins the paper by suggesting that only the proletariat under the guidance of the Marxist worldview, have “the most scientific answer to the question of meaning for life”

(Gan, 6/1982:79). The paper begins by reviewing the historical context upon which the modernisation programme that China has recently embarked and suggest that any discussion on the meaning of life should be based upon a specific socio-historical context. The paper then comments upon certain ideas that it regards as bearing a bourgeoisie orientation. They include the ideas that life is about eating and style of clothes; that if one does not enjoy enough when one is young, the whole life is meaningless; that it is possible to have a reasonable egoistic attitude. After rejecting these ideas as the answer to a worthwhile life, the author argues that the proletariat worldview is the most progressive and scientific view of life (Gan, 6/1982:79-84).

A paper published one month later addresses a different question but still along the same line. This paper first of all outlined the case for using communist ideology as the guiding principle in educating youth. The paper is intended to ease some people's concern about teaching communist morality in a socialist society because it would seem that the political ideology would be more advanced than the society itself and the ideology becomes



too leftist. The paper suggests that although in the past the Party committed leftist errors, this should not be the reason for rejecting communist education. The paper then goes on to argue that the objective of a communist education is to eliminate the leftist errors, as well as to prevent the wide spread of bourgeoisie liberalism (Wei, 7/1982:2-6).

The fourth paper reiterates the need for communist morality in the build- up of socialist spiritual civilisation was published in November in the same year (Lu, 11/1982: 47-51).

In 1983, which is a year of elaborated ideological orientation, there was only one paper published in this cluster. The paper discusses the issues of traditional collectivism in the context of Chinese development. The paper calls for a more vigorous communist thought education that is based upon what the author regards as the new reality created as a result of the open door policy adopted by the Party. The author suggests that the open door policy has led to very different social and political conditions. Therefore there is an even more urgent need to pay more attention

to traditional socialist morality in order to give the society the best ideological protection that it could have provided.

In 1984, which is again a year of restrictive ideological orientation, there were three papers published in this cluster. The first two papers discussed this orientation with reference to the education of patriotic attitude and an “appropriate” worldview respectively.

From the point of view of our line of analysis, the third paper in this year is of some interest. The paper tries to incorporate the notion of socialist humanism into the framework of traditional collectivism. The author starts the paper by suggesting that

“Although in recent years, humanism has been a hot issue of debate among theoreticians in our country, it is rare for it to be discussed as an ethical and moral issue. Judging from the published research papers on ethics and moral issues, socialist humanism has always been rejected as an inherent part of our morality system.” (Shi, 9/1984:15)

The author then goes on to explain socialist humanism in terms of an equal relationship between individuals within the society. For example, he suggests that “from the point of view of ethical relationship, socialist humanism ... recognises that the relationship between individuals living in a system of public ownership is that of equality and co-operation”(Shi, 9/1984:16). Thus for the first time in this cluster of ideological statements, a notion of relationship between individuals is given status without reference to the relationship between individuals and the collectivity to which they belong. The author, however, does not indicate any intention of challenging the principle of traditional collectivism. Indeed, the paper goes on to suggest that the two notions of individuals and their collectivity co-exist, and are hence not mutually exclusive. Nonetheless, this is only suggested in an implicit sense:



“In the past, the theoreticians in our country have always regarded that the socialist moral system is composed of basic principles like collectivism, patriotism, internationalism, to love labouring and to care for public property. Socialist humanism as an ethical principle or moral paradigm has never been mentioned. In fact, from the point of view of the functioning of morality, collectivism mainly deals with the relationship between individuals and the collectivity; patriotism deals with the relationship between individuals and their country; internationalism deals with the relationship between countries. All these principles cannot be used to handle the relationship between individuals in the vast amount of daily events.” (Shi, 9/1984:19)

Thus, this paper tries to adopt a reflective view of the ways in which traditional collectivism may help the society to face new conditions of life as a result of the open door policy. This paper tries to talk about new problems from an old perspective and hence is perhaps by nature retrospective. However, the paper is clearly prepared to address new problems from an emerging perspective. In this way, this paper can be seen as a bridge between traditional collectivism and regulated individualism, which gains its recognition from the editors starting in 1985. In a

paradoxical sense, the paper was published in 1984, a year which has been identified in this research as a year of restricted ideological orientation. 1984 is also the year before the Chinese Government formally launches its educational reform. This perhaps reflects the dual roles of the editorial role which we suggested in the beginning of this thesis. On the one hand, the editorial board is part of the instrument for redefining the relationship between the state and the intellectuals but on the other hand, the editorial board serves as an ideological regulator.

#### **7.7.1.2      Traditional Collectivism as Teaching from Respected Political Figures**

Another way to argue for the importance of traditional collectivism is to re-read the writings and speeches of important political figures. A total of four papers were published between 1981 and 1983 (none for 1984). A summary of their occurrence is given in the following table.

Table 7.3      Number of Papers between 1981 and 1984 Which Define Collectivism as Teaching from Respected Political Figures

| Ideological Orientation   | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 |
|---|------|------|------|------|
| Traditional Collectivism as teaching from respected political figures | 1    | 2    | 1    | 0    |

Of all the four papers during this period, three were written by one person, who worked in the Central Cadre School of the Party [71]. The earliest paper was published in the October issue, 1981 and the political figure that is being discussed is Lenin. He writes that

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71      As suggested in Chapter two, the Central Cadre School of the Party is a very important ideological institution in socialist China. Senior cadres are sent to the school to learn about the most current ideological positions and their associated discourse. However, this does not mean that the school always represent the conservative side of the ideological conflicts in China. As we have demonstrated in Chapter two, the former Party Secretary Hu Yaobang launched the ideological debate to challenge the “whateverists” when he was the Vice-President of the Central Cadre School.



“The proletariat collectivist principle is a new form of social relationship between individuals and their collectivity. Its basic request is to integrate individual and collective interest, under the principle that individual interests have to be subsumed under collective interests. Hence, all forms of individualism are in contradiction with communist morality.” (Song, 10/1981:3)

According to Song, Lenin, when writing the paper, was hoping to combat a popular saying: “everyone works for their own sake, while God works for everyone”. The dissemination of communist morality is to eliminate the effects of this saying which is merely helping to disseminate individualistic ideas (Song, *ibid.*).

The same idea of the need for individual interest to be subsumed under collective interest is echoed in another paper published in 1982. The author, who worked in Zhejiang University, writes that Lenin’s writings were still very important in guiding moral education at that time. For example, he quotes Lenin and points out that Lenin put heavy emphasis on the contribution of communist moral education to the maintenance and success of communism. According to Lenin, the essence of

communist moral education is to ensure that one contributes oneself to the common good (Zheng, 4/1982:14). The author also takes this opportunity to suggest that in order to follow the teaching of Lenin, the Chinese context has to be taken into consideration. It means that the application required political principles as firm guidance. This is a reference to the Four Basic Principles which have just been announced by the Communist Party (Zheng, 4/1982:14). This announcement is not accidental, we have already identified 1982 as a year of restricted ideological orientation. as in previous chapters.

Song also contributed his second paper in 1982. This time, it is on the studying of Liu Shaoqi's thoughts on moral education. Based on the readings of Liu Shaoqi, the author suggests that "the reason why communist morality is a great morality is that it is not based upon protecting the interests of the minority and the exploiters. Instead it is based upon the interests of proletariat and the great working class people" (Song, 4/1982:19). The author then goes on to explain that the core element for communist morality is the proletarian collectivist principle. Quoting from Liu



Shaoqi, the author suggests that anyone, including the Communist Party members might encounter occasions when individual interests may conflict with collective interests. When this happens, individuals should sacrifice their interests for the sake of the interests of the Party and the collective. This is because the interests of the Party represent the ultimate interests of the proletariat and hence the emancipation of human being (Song, 4/1982:20). Song then went on to suggest that,

“In a nutshell, individual interest has to be completely subsumed under the interest of the collective. One should refrain from putting the interests of individuals above all the decisions and always give the first priority to collective interests. On the other hand, one should consider one’s proper interests in the context of the interest of the Party and the collectivity so that any individual can develop in the course of revolution and hence contribute more to the whole course. The unity of these two sides is the whole issue of communist collective principle.” (Song, 4/1982:20)

It is clear from Song’s argument that in the early 80’s, individuals are not expected to develop a discourse outside the realm of Party control.



The last paper in this cluster published by the journal is in the following year (1983). This time, the arguments are derived from the writings of Marx and Engels. The line of argument is more or less the same as the one published in previous years. Thus the paper is still a reassertion of the importance of subsuming individual interest under the banner of collective interest in a socialist China. It seems that the same author changes his mind slightly between 1983 and 1984. In the first two papers, Song does not give a place to any individual discourse in the communist morality system. Individualist ideas, if any, have to be subsumed under the collective interests. In a sense, all individual interests without reference to collective interests are illegitimate. However, in the third paper, although bourgeois individualism is attacked in a number of places, the author is careful to distinguish the ideological position of traditional collectivism from those of bourgeois individualism and the total elimination of self-interest, which is a dominant position during the Cultural Revolution. What is being suggested in the paper is self-interest which can be harmoniously integrated with collective interest (Song, 3/1983:19).

**7.7.1.3      Traditional Collectivism as an Ideological  
Position to Combat Bad Influences Imported  
into China as A Result of the Open Door Policy**

A total of five papers are published in this group of papers. Two were published in 1982 and three in 1984. Both years have been identified in our analysis as years of restrictive ideological orientation. In the years 1981 and 1983, there are no papers published in this category. It is obvious that this group of papers act as an ideological critique of bourgeois ideas imported into China alongside Western commercial products. It is perhaps no co-incidence for papers in this group to be published in 1982 and 1984. We have identified these two years as years of restrictive ideological orientation. A summary of the papers is given below.

**Table 7.4      Number of Papers published between 1981 and 1984  
Which Define Traditional Collectivism as an  
Ideological Position to Combat Bad Influences  
Imported into China as a Result of the Open Door  
Policy**

| <b>Ideological Orientation</b>  | <b>1981</b> | <b>1982</b> | <b>1983</b> | <b>1984</b> |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>Traditional Collectivism as an ideological position to combat bad influences imported into China as a result of the open door policy</b> | <b>0</b>    | <b>2</b>    | <b>0</b>    | <b>3</b>    |



All the five papers are concerned with offering ideological critiques to some popular ideas held by young people or students. For example, a paper published in the April issue in 1982 started with the first paragraph which gave a hint to the context within which the paper was written:

“Because the influence of ten years’ turmoil has not been completely eliminated, and the process of rectifying the leftist influences together with the implementation of the open door policy, some bourgeoisie liberalism ideas have also gone into the schools. Some ideas like “individual freedom”, “individual value” and certain bourgeoisie moral rules like “self-determination” and “free competition” are also beginning to be spread among certain people. Some youths are beginning to refuse to commit themselves to the state collective and step on the wrong path of individual advancement.” (Sun, 4/1982:23)

Thus, it has been proposed that the insistence on collectivism is a way to combat individualism. Indeed, this statement is a sub-heading of the paper. The rest of the paper is devoted to explaining how the insistence of collectivism helped to combat individualism.



A second paper that is published four months later discusses the same problem but with a different emphasis. This paper is an ideological critique of certain common ideas regarded as beginning to be shared among the youth. It explains why these ideas are not only ideologically incorrect, but also fail to give a correct guide to people in a society like China (Li, 8/1982). The paper begins by suggesting that unless those ideas which are in essence the bourgeois self-interest worldview, are eliminated, it might not be possible to develop collectivist spirit, or the proletariat world view. The paper then attacks the idea that human beings are by nature selfish. The paper uses quotations from Marx and various historical figures to suggest that human beings are by nature not selfish to each other and that it is only because of certain historical conditions that unselfish behaviours could not be fully developed (Li, 8/1982:26-28).

The paper then goes on to criticize two beliefs which were regarded as rather popular at that time. The first is that it is justifiable to be egoistic if it is reasonable. The second is that it is

equally justifiable if one is concerned only with taking care of one's interest when at the same time other people's interests could be taken into account.

The next two papers published in 1984 are basically repeating the same motif. It is also very interesting that the last paper in this group also contains signs of a broader range of ideological positions. The paper from Miao, whose institutional association was not published, criticizes the notion of self-actualisation. Nevertheless, in the paper, he also maintains that "today, people prepare themselves in accordance with what is requested from the Party. This does not mean that there is no less a requirement for individual planning and advancement" (Miao, 2/1984:29). The author then goes on to explain that anyone who is working hard for himself/herself for the Four Modernizations should be given encouragement. What he opposes is only planning for oneself and deviating from the expectation of the mass and the Party. Again, there is a movement from insisting that the individual should subsume himself/herself under the collective interest to giving a conditional status to the individual.

The movement is small but significant because it provides the link to the development of what we have called regulated individualism.

**7.7.2 The Emergence of Regulated Individualism: 1985 - June, 1989**

Compared with the period 1980-1984, the number of papers containing only ideological orientation without pedagogic practice between 1984 and June 1989 drops significantly. We have suggested in the first chapter that in this period the ideological climate in the wider society of China becomes more open and the State is able to accept relatively more diverse ideas. In this period, only one paper is identified as bearing an ideological orientation without pedagogic practice. Moreover, it only appears in the second half of this period.

**Table 7.5      Number of Regulated Individualism Papers  
Published between 1985 and June 1989**

|                         |      |      |      |      |               |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|---------------|
| Ideological Orientation | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | Jan - Jun, 89 |
| Regulated Individualism | 0    | 0    | 0    | 1    | 0             |



It may well be the case that the important fact that there is only one paper in the four and a half year period reveals the ways in which the new educational ideology emerges from the previous one. The emergence of the new educational ideology, namely, regulated individualism is not based upon a critique of the previous ideological position, traditional collectivism. Indeed, the construction of the argument in the only paper is very much indicative of the necessity for change. The paper begins by identifying new source of challenge to existing practices in moral and ideological education:

“The reform in economic structure, the development of productivity, the development of new ideas to adapt to the development of the society as well as the infiltration and dissemination of heterogeneous culture have all created some strong shock waves to the arena of thought and ideology.” (Zhang and Zang, 4/1988:15)

The authors then go on to discuss the implication for the development of a socialist commodity economy for the education of collectivism. These include the following contradictions: between the emphasis of material interest and ideals in moral

values; between the exchange of equivalent values and sacrifice without any reservation; between fair competition and being humble and modest; and finally between an emphasis on the consciousness of the subject and the need for collective will to take precedence over the individual will. Instead of criticizing these new trends as potential threats to the existing socialist order, the authors choose to redefine what constitute collectivist education in this new era of socialist commodity economy. At the end of the last section, we have identified a paper that implicitly hints that some conditional autonomy should be given to individual discourse. This paper actually serves to act as the new ideological voice of this conditional individual discourse.

According to the authors, the new collectivist education has to regulate the behaviours and thoughts of people in terms of moral standards and folklore, and to create a legal system which serves to protect the interests of the people. It also has to guarantee the freedom of development for individuals (Zhang and Zang, 4/88:17). In other words, the authors argue that instead of defining individuals in terms of an individual-collectivist

framework, individuals should be given positions of their own in this new framework of morality. However, the authors emphasise that the recognition of a new positioning of individuals should not be confounded with the **emancipation** of individuals. Thus at the same time when individuals should be given certain autonomy, the requirements of the collective are expected to be taken into consideration by individuals. It is in this sense that we have chosen to call the new ideological positioning “regulated individualism”.

### **7.7.3 Co-existence of Traditional Collectivism and Regulated Individualism: June, 1989 - 1993**

As we can see from table 5 below, between June 1989 and 1993, no ideological shift can be located in this period.



Table 7.6      Number of Traditional Collectivism or Regulated Individualism Papers Published between June, 1989 to 1994

| Ideological Orientation  | Jul-Dec. 89 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 |
|--|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| Traditional Collectivism as a necessary <i>conscience collective</i> for the Chinese society   | 1           | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    |
| Traditional Collectivism as teaching from respected political figures  | 1           | 1    | 0    | 0    | 0    |
| Traditional Collectivism as an ideological position to combat bad influences imported into China as a result of the open door policy | 0           | 0    | 1    | 0    | 0    |
| Traditional Collectivism (Sub-total)   | 2           | 1    | 1    | 0    | 0    |
| Regulated Individualism  | 0           | 0    | 1    | 0    | 0    |

We shall now summarize the distribution of various types of ideological orientations for all papers which carry only an ideological orientation without explicit pedagogic practice.



Table 7.7 The Distribution of Traditional Collectivism and Regulated Individualism Papers between 1981 and 1993

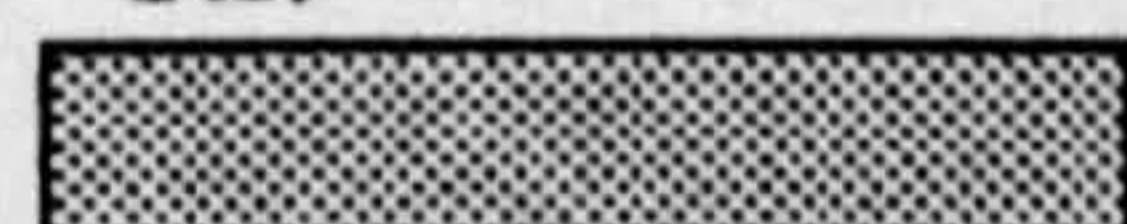
|                | TC<br>(CC) | TC<br>(teaching) | TC<br>(critique) | TC(sub-total) | RI |
|----------------|------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|----|
| 1981           | 1          | 1                | 0                | 2             | 0  |
| 1982           | 4          | 2                | 2                | 8             | 0  |
| 1983           | 1          | 1                | 0                | 2             | 0  |
| 1984           | 3          | 0                | 3                | 6             | 0  |
| Sub-total      |            |                  |                  | 18            | 0  |
| 1985           | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0             | 0  |
| 1986           | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0             | 0  |
| 1987           | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0             | 1  |
| 1988           | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0             | 1  |
| Jan - June, 89 | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0             | 0  |
| Sub-total      |            |                  |                  | 0             | 2  |
| July-Dec 89    | 1          | 1                | 0                | 2             | 0  |
| 1990           | 0          | 1                | 0                | 1             | 0  |
| 1991           | 0          | 0                | 1                | 1             | 1  |
| 1992           | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0             | 0  |
| 1993           | 0          | 0                | 0                | 0             | 0  |
| Sub-total      |            |                  |                  | 4             | 1  |
| Total          |            |                  |                  | 8             | 2  |

TC(CC): Traditional Collectivism as a necessary conscience collective for the Chinese society

TC(teaching): Traditional Collectivism as teaching from respectable political figures traditional collectivism

TC(critique): Traditional Collectivism as an ideological position to combat some bad influences imported into China as a result of the open door policy.

RI: Regulated Individualism

 The year of restricted ideological orientation as indexed in the editorials



A number of observations can be made about the above table.

First, given the importance of ideology in the discussion of moral education, it is quite surprising and perhaps interesting that the total number of papers on ideological orientation without explicit pedagogic practice is so limited. Over the years, we have only 25 papers, which is 10.8% of 232 papers of all papers in the category of moral education.

Second, we can detect the mediating function of the editors of the journal. In 1982 and 1984, which we have identified as years of restrictive ideological orientation, a total of fourteen papers were published in these two years. If we include those papers published after June in 1989, then sixteen papers were published in these three periods. All of them are classified by us as mediating traditional collectivism. On the other hand, during the years which we have identified as elaborated ideological orientation (1981, 1983, 1985-1989) there are only two papers published, both of which we classify as mediating regulated individualism. It



seems that when the editors articulate a position of restrictive ideological orientation in their editorials, an appropriate ideological discourse will be given certain space in that year, but when the editors articulate elaborated ideological orientation, less space will be allocated to an ideological discourse in that particular year. This may signal greater freedom of autonomy.

Third, we can still detect the trend of change in the ideological orientations of the papers. In the years 1981 - 1984, all ideological orientation papers (a total of 18 papers, 72% of all ideological orientation papers) are about elaborating traditional collectivism. Between 1985 and before June 1989, there are only two ideological orientation papers, both elaborate regulated individualism. After June 1989, there are five ideological orientation papers, four of which emphasise traditional collectivism and one emphasise regulated individualism. Thus it seems justified to suggest that the emergence of regulated individualism as an alternative but legitimate orientation has been disrupted because of the incident in June 1989.

Fourth, there is a long-term decline in the importance of ideological orientation papers over the years. 72% of all ideological orientation papers were published between the years 1981 and 1984. Moreover, there are no ideological orientation papers published since 1992. The debate in ideology appears to have moved from the foreground to the background.

Perhaps what is more interesting is the form of pedagogic practice associated with different ideological orientations.

## **7.8 Traditional Collectivism, Regulated Individualism and Their Pedagogic Practices**

Our second category of papers refers to what we have called ideological orientation with explicit pedagogic practice. In these papers the authors articulate an ideological position, which would then be recontextualised into different forms of pedagogic practice. Thus, these are clear examples which show how the authors address the pedagogic relevance of their ideological positions.

In the previous section, we have identified three forms of

traditional collectivism, namely, traditional collectivism as a necessary *conscious collective* for Chinese society; as teaching from respectable political figures and as an ideological position to combat some bad influences imported into China as a result of the open door policy. In this section, however these distinctions cannot be made. The space allocated to each paper is limited and the authors appear to have discussed pedagogic relevance, rather than ideological orientation. Yet we are still able to distinguish the two ideological positions: traditional collectivism and regulated individualism.

We distinguished forms of pedagogic practice in the last chapter. These are:

- A)      general and non specific discussion of moral education, i.e. no specific reference to types of pupils, institutions or discourses

These are papers which discuss the general nature and context of moral education and methods of moral education.



**B) methods of teaching**

These are papers which discuss the use of certain methods of teaching to raise the quality of moral education

**C) moral education discussed with reference to various institutions:**

school; pre-school; primary schooling; secondary schooling; higher education; work

These are papers which emphasise the importance of pedagogic work to be carried out in certain educational institutions

**D) empirical investigation**

These are papers which report the findings of surveys or case studies and discuss the likely implications of those studies.

We have also suggested that papers published in categories (A) are likely to be about general discussion of issues, while papers from categories (B), (C) and some in (D) are mostly concerned with

proposing methods to tackle certain specific problems.

Our major concern here is to inquire whether ideological positions may privilege the discussion of certain forms of pedagogic practice.

### **7.8.1 Traditional Collectivism with Pedagogic Practice: 1981-1984**

Between 1981 and 1984, we can identify a total of 18 papers which articulated traditional collectivism with pedagogic practice [TC (PP)](See Table 7.8).

**Table 7.8      Distribution of Papers of Traditional Collectivism  
with Various Forms of Pedagogic Practice between  
1981 and 1984**

| Forms of TC (PP)   |                        | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | Sub-<br>total |
|--|------------------------|------|------|------|------|---------------|
| (A) General  |                        | 3    | 0    | 0    | 2    | 5             |
| (B) Methods of Teaching  |                        | 0    | 3    | 2    | 1    | 6             |
| (C) Moral<br>Education<br>in the context<br>of various<br>institutions | School                 | 2    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 2             |
|  | Primary Students       | 0    | 1    | 0    | 0    | 1             |
|  | Youth                  | 0    | 1    | 0    | 0    | 1             |
|  | University<br>Students | 0    | 1    | 0    | 0    | 1             |
|  | Higher Education       | 0    | 0    | 0    | 1    | 1             |
| (D) Empirical Investigation  |                        | 1    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 1             |
| Total  |                        | 6    | 6    | 2    | 4    | 18            |

Because of the limitation of space, it is difficult for us to review each of the papers published by the journal in this category. Thus, only a sample of the papers will be selected to illustrate the basic features of this segment of the discourse of moral education. We shall start by discussing the largest segment, namely, methods of teaching.

**7.8.2    Methods of Teaching (1981-1984)**

In all the six papers published on the methods of teaching, the central issue is the discussion of the appropriate methods which the teachers may use to give a proper moral and ideological



education to the students. Among the six papers, two emphasise the importance of collectivity in teaching moral and ideological education to the students. A joint paper from academics in Harbin Technical University discuss their experience in cultivating their students' collectivist ideas (Zheng, et al, 1982/6:73-78). Another paper discuss a theory of collectivity proposed by a famous Soviet educationalist, Makarenko, and then further discussed its implications for education in today's China (Tao, 1982/4:28-32).

The other four papers have their focus on various features of the formation of collectivist ideas. One paper (Bai, 1983/9:67-69) discuss the nature of the formation of revolutionary vision of the students and then proposed methods to foster the formation of such ideas. These include the explanation of visions of the modernization programme to the country and its contribution to the development of the country; helping students to use revolutionary ideas to resist the influence of bad ideas, emphasising the need for teachers to be exemplars for achieving the step by step and the need for teachers to understand the students and their characteristics.

Another paper is about the importance of productive labour in moral education (Chen, 1984/6:40-43). The author explain why productive labour is an essential component of moral education in China and their students would only learn how to love productive labour if they are given the opportunity to take part in it.

Another two papers are concerned with explaining the works of Mao and Li, an educator who gave insights into moral education in China. For Chu (1982/4:15-18), the prime task of moral education is to teach the students to bear in mind the interests of the people in every aspect of the students' own lives. Chu's paper is mainly about the contemporary relevance of Mao for today's moral education. He then gives some suggestions about how moral education should be taught. Firstly, one must take into consideration the characteristics of youth. Secondly, ideological education could not be taught in a brutally forceful way. The teachers must use reasoning and discussion in dealing with various issues of moral and ideological education. Thirdly, students should learn from their own experience. Students should

not only learn the theory, but be allowed to take part in all kinds of activity.

The last paper in this category is concerned with what one can learn from an educator on moral education, Li Yianjie (Wang et al, 1983/2:46-48). Li specialises in giving speeches to students on various aspects of moral and ideological education, almost like an ideo-moral evangelist. According to the authors, quoting from Li, the best thing that teachers could do in teaching is to love them as if the students were their children. The authors summarise what they regard have been the underpinning principles Li's approach to moral education. The first one is that teachers should try their best to understand their students. When teaching young students, teachers should ask themselves what the students worry most. Teachers are then able to share their views with the students on those issues. Second, moral education should be presented in an interesting way and yet supported by various areas of knowledge. Third, teachers must be able to use exemplars from real lives, historical legends, famous people from traditional China and overseas to illustrate the teachings of moral education.



We shall now turn to the second largest group of pedagogic practice - general.

### **7.8.3 General (1981-1984)**

There are five papers published in this category. Among them, three discuss the nature of Marxist moral education curriculum. For example, Zhong (1981/7:53-56) discussed the nature of ethics in Marxism which is regarded as an important issue in moral education. He reviews the discussion of moral education in the tradition of Chinese and European idealism and then argues that only Marxism could provide the best answer to the issues of moral education that Chinese society was being confronted at that time.

Cjo (1981/12:7-12) discusses the trend to use theories from behavioral sciences to guide moral and ideological education in schools. Cjo first reviews the social contexts upon which behavioral sciences were founded in the West. The author then goes on to suggest that while he is aware of the potential of using

behavioral sciences in industrial management, he argues that it could not be used as a guiding theory in moral and ideological education. The author argues that it is true that the ideological work in China has to be carried out in a more scientific way, behavioral sciences are not the answer. To further his argument, Cjo compares the notion of need in the theories developed by Maslow and Mao in great detail and concluded that Maslow's theory is not scientific.

In the other two papers, one is about the need and proposing some methods to strengthen the Party in the leadership of work in ideological education (Liu, 1981/12:2-6). The second is about the importance of being knowledgeable about Zhang Haidi, a new exemplar advocated by the Party to be a model for youth. She was crippled when she was five and thus lost the chance to go to school during the Cultural Revolution. However, she did not give up and tried very hard to read as much as she could at home, thus making herself the best model for struggle against adversities (Chen, 1984/6:55-58).

#### 7.8.4 Others (1981-1984)

In the following, we shall examine other papers under this category of traditional collectivism with pedagogic practice [TC(PP)]. These correspond to categories C and D that we have identified above (see section 7.8). They include school, primary school pupils, youth, university students, higher education students and empirical investigation. Here, we shall call them “others”.

There are two papers on schools within this group. The two papers were published in 1981. The first paper is written by Zhang (1981/2:2-5). According to our interview with an editor of the journal, Zhang has been one of the most senior editors of the journal and hence played a leading role as an “ideological contextualiser” for the journal [72]. In his paper, he interprets the ideological climate in the wider society by putting forward an interpretation of a recently published political text, and discusses relevant issues in the context of education.

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72      The interview took place in April, 1990



In this paper, Zhang explains the ideological and political roles of education in the modernization programme as adopted by the CCP since the Third Plenum of the Eleventh National Party Congress (NPC) in 1978. Zhang says in the beginning of the paper that the ideological issues at stake could be summarized as the following three questions:

“(1) Is socialism in our country really more advanced than other countries? (2) Is the Chinese Communist Party able to lead the Chinese people in achieving the modernization programme? (3) Is the strategic task of building a modernized, highly democratic, highly civilized socialist powerful country able to be achieved?” (Zhang, 1981/2:2)

Zhang then quotes various figures to illustrate the achievement of socialism since 1949. He admits that the Party made errors during the Cultural Revolution but suggests that it is because of the errors made by the Party that the Chinese people are led to believe in wrong ideas. Zhang suggests that the way to go forward is to clarify two issues of ideological confusion. One is that the liberation of thought should not be seen as abandoning

Marxism and Maoism. He argues that it is wrong to think that Marxism and Maoism are themselves dogmas and therefore when talking about emancipation of thought, one should not just abandon the primary role of Marxism and Maoism in guiding thoughts. The other is the need to distinguish between material incentive and spiritual incentive. He criticises that in the past, because of over-politicization, there has been too little attention to the use of material incentive, but now the use of material incentive is just too overwhelming and therefore it must be supplemented by the spirit of socialism. The following paragraph actually sums up the whole ideological basis of moral education in traditional collectivism:

“Because of the need to achieve the Modernization programme as fast as possible, we have to learn advance science and technology from Europe, USA and Japan. However we must not learn the selfish, egocentric, egotistic aspect of the rotten bourgeoisie values. What we must do is to integrate the advanced socialist system and communist morality and should not be contaminated by the bourgeoisie thoughts.” (Zhang, 1981/2:5)

The other paper is written under the name of the

Communist Party in Tsinghua University [73] on their experience in the work of ideological education in the University.

There is one paper in each of the following areas: empirical investigation, primary school pupils, youth, university students and higher education.

The paper published on primary school pupils deserves discussion because it is written as a commentary by the editors of the journal. The paper was a direct response to the document, *The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China*. In the 1982 editorial, the editor reminds the educators to understand the document and specifically to sum up their experience of moral education in schools. Here, the editor issues a commentary on moral education, which stresses the importance of moral education in primary schools. The commentary explains what the editors understand as

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73 Tsinghua University is one of the most prestigious Universities in China, which specializes in science and technology. Since the paper was published under the name of the Communist Party of Tsinghua University, it was likely to be a collective work of the Secretariat of the Party in the University.



the content of spiritual civilization. There are two aspects. The first is the cognitive aspect, which is in essence the various aspects of knowledge, and the other is the spiritual aspect of civilization, i.e. communist ideas. Based on this definition, the editors propose the content for moral education in primary schools. In discussing the curriculum, the editors point out the need to distinguish between the spiritual civilization of socialism and that of capitalism. For the editors, socialist spiritual civilization is about collectivism whilst capitalist spiritual civilization is about individualism. Hence the starting point for socialist spiritual civilization is to combat individualism, to insist on collectivism, and all these should be taught when the children are small so that it becomes their habit.

For the reason of space, we cannot discuss the rest of the papers. Basically, they follow a path similar to the ones we have commented upon. But their foci are different: higher education, youth and empirical investigation.

We shall now move to the second stage (1985 to before June,

1989) when there is a decline of the number of papers on traditional collectivism with pedagogic practice, and a rapid emergence of papers on regulated individualism with pedagogic practice.

### **7.9 The Decline of Traditional Collectivism with Pedagogic Practice and the Emergence of Regulated Individualism with Pedagogic Practice (1985 - June, 1989)**

The emerging trend of regulated individualism becomes more visible as we move to the second stage (1985 until June 1989). A summary of the different categories of paper with various formats of ideological orientations with pedagogic practice is given below (Table 7.9).

Table 7.9      The Distribution of Papers on Regulated Individualism (Pedagogic Practice) and Traditional Collectivism (Pedagogic Practice) between 1985 and July, 1989

| Forms of RI(PP) and TC(PP) |                     | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | Jun -Jul, 89 | Sub-total |
|----------------------------|---------------------|----|----|----|----|--------------|-----------|
| RI(PP)                     | General             | 3  | 1  | 1  | 6  | 4            | 15        |
|                            | Methods of Teaching | 1  | 0  | 1  | 2  | 0            | 4         |
|                            | University Students | 1  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0            | 1         |
| TC(PP)                     | Methods of Teaching | 0  | 1  | 0  | 0  | 0            | 1         |
|                            | Schools             | 0  | 1  | 1  | 0  | 0            | 2         |
| Total                      |                     | 5  | 3  | 3  | 8  | 4            | 23        |

RI(PP): Regulated Individualism with Pedagogic Practice  
TC(PP): Traditional Collectivism with Pedagogic Practice

7.9.1    Traditional Collectivism with Pedagogic Practice (1985 and July, 1989)

For the sake of continuity and comparison, we shall first of all discuss TC(PP) papers. Three papers are published during this period. The first is from a member of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) National Defense of University (Huang, 1986/1:28-36). The author uses his experience in the training of PLA soldiers to discuss issues concerning the education of communist ideals.

According to the author, the communist ideal is not only a system of thought. It is also part of the revolutionary movement,



which makes the practical aspect of the education of communist ideal a very important issue of concern. The author criticises that in the past, the communist ideal has been presented as an abstract and leftist ideal. Drawing on his experience as soldier, the author argues that the military operation has provided numerous examples of individuals contributing to the collective good. In the paper, the author wanted to address a problem: "Today [1986] how could we stand up and proudly talk about the ideal of collective good when the soldiers were now confronted with rotten ideas like "to be soldier was a waste of time"; "a waste of your precious youth" and "everything counted in terms of money".

The author argues that we could still identify ideals from military service and the problem was how to educate the youth in an appropriate way. A number of guiding principles are proposed. Firstly, teaching should be based upon the characteristics of learning by the youth. The teaching of ideals should be substantiated with concrete examples, so that they become exemplars for the youths to learn from. Secondly, as the essence of

communism is collectivism, its consciousness must be acquired through the collective. Thus any education of the communist ideals must make good use of the fulfilment of being in the collectivity. Thirdly, the education of ideals must guide the youths to learn to think along a correct line so that they can acquire the ability of self-education.

In the second paper (Ge, 1987/10:15-16), the author argues for the importance of moral education in primary and secondary schools.

### **7.9.2 Regulated Individualism with Pedagogic Practice (1985 and July, 1989)**

We shall now turn to those papers which are written based on regulated individualism with pedagogic practice [RI(PP)]. Unlike the group of TC(PP) papers (Table 7.8), which articulate the ideological positions with respect to a wide range of pedagogic practices (twenty papers spreading over a total of eight areas between 1981 and 1987), RI(PP) papers are less dispersed. There are only three groups out of a total of twenty papers between 1985

and June 1989.

### 7.9.3 General (1985 and July 1989)

From table 7.9, we can see that the largest category of paper is the category “general”. A total of fifteen papers (75% of papers of the whole category) are published under this category. Seven of them are based on a notion of change.

Interestingly the first paper in this category is from an official working in Shanghai Higher Education Bureau [74] (Yang, 1985/3:68-71). The author discusses the problem of change with regard to moral education of university students [75]. According to the author, moral education is facing a dilemma of “change” or “not to change”. Certain areas of change in the wider society are identified by the author. To summarize, the policy of reform, the open-door policy and the acceptance of new technology create

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- 74 Shanghai has been and still is one of the most important cities in China. It has always been regarded as the most Westernised city in China.
  - 75 Although the author discussed the problem of moral education of university students, the discussion made in the paper was made in general terms, and therefore we still classify the paper as



new sources of change and so the old days approach of “beware of the class enemy” is outdated. Hence there is a need for the work of ideological education to reflect the new situation. Consequently, the nature of ideological education has changed. The demand on University students is now different. They are not expected to be highly politically conscious activists. The author quotes a resolution from the Third Plenum of the Twelfth Party National Congress which suggests that “what [is] needed was factory managers who could effectively organize and supervise production and the trading of the products; chief engineers who could strengthen and improve the level of technology; chief economists who could raise economic efficiency and maintain financial rules...” (Yang, 1985/3:69). Then the author complains that ideological education in higher education has not been adapted to the new situation. The paper ends by suggesting a wide range of changes to four areas, namely, the conceptions of moral education, its content, method and the teachers themselves.

The next four papers are all about the need for change in

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“general”.

ideas about moral education (Yuan, 1985/3:47-51; Huang, 1985/9:34-36; Wang, 1986/1:18-24; Lu, 1988/4:3-6). In Yuan's paper, the author, who was a young research student at the time of writing the paper, traces the changes of the value system in Chinese society from an historical point of view. Among all the changes that are identified in the paper, the overall trend is that people should not take things for granted easily. For example, the author mentions that now what is to be advocated is to dare to think about all kinds of issues, to work out new methods and to challenge authority. He also suggests that people with their distinctive characters, and talents who are willing to work hard to achieve something are needed in contemporary times. In the area of aesthetics, the author complains that there is a confusion of plurality and low moral quality. In conclusion, the author suggests that moral education has to be changed so that "at the same time when individual values are emphasized, there is also a need to recognize that an individual could only develop in the collectivity to which one belonged". Moreover, "whilst there was an emphasis of economic efficiency and material interest, the idea of altruism should also be advocated". While there is a need to



adapt to the open door policy and the influx of “bad” ideas into the Chinese society as a consequence of the open door policy must also be recognised.

Yuan’s paper represents a clear position of regulated individualism and its pedagogic recontextualisation. The new ideological position is derived from liberalization in the field of production but is unlike traditional collectivism, which regulates pedagogic practice through the recontextualising of a traditional socialist position. In other words, the construction of pedagogic discourse in traditional collectivism is based upon the idea of the total domination of the collective over the individual. In Yuan’s case, regulated individualism is not only about changes in the field of production, but also denotes a change of the relationship between the individual and the collective to which one belongs. A new pedagogic discourse is to be constructed for its recontextualisation. In a way, it is about the construction of a new education project. However, in the case of traditional collectivism, the issue is about the importance of the old education project to tackle the problems created by the changing social relations in the



field of production. It may well be because of the need for a new pedagogic discourse that regulated individualism is widely discussed in the papers identified as ideological orientation with pedagogic practice (general). The education project has to be made explicit. The form that it takes may vary but all forms are expressing the ideology of regulated individualism.

Other papers in this “general” category all follow in similar fashion.

Huang’s (1985/9:34-36) paper is a comprehensive discussion of what areas of ideological education in high schools should be changed to adapt to the new changes. For the author, the political task in higher education is not to focus on the high ground of politics, but to raise the quality of the students, improve the quality of teaching and to reform management in higher education to produce better students at a greater speed. It seems that the irony of the political task leads to a partial depoliticisation of education.

In Wang's paper (1986/1:18-24), moral education is regarded as an answer to Deng's suggestion that spiritual civilization should be the basis for modernization. Wang himself is a famous educationalist in China. The paper is almost a declaration of the role that educationalists could play in the construction of the new discourse on moral education. In this paper, Wang distinguishes between the effect of moral education and its aims as well as between the content and methods of moral education. According to Wang, in the past there has been too much emphasis on the aims of moral education without due emphasis on the effects. It is as if once the aims could be identified, everything would then follow and occur. Without paying attention to the issue of methods and their effectiveness, aims simply cannot be automatically achieved.

There are two important implications in this argument. First, by distinguishing the aims of moral education and its methods and efficiency, Wang is able to create a discursive space whereby educationalists have a distinguishable role other than an ideological role. For Wang, the implicit suggestion is that the

contribution of educationalists could only be achieved if the State leaves them alone for the construction of their own pedagogic discourse for the realization of power relationship. Thus moral education would then cease to be the derivative of political ideology and acquires its own autonomy. Indeed, Wang criticises that in the past, the teaching of socialism has mainly been through note-taking until students learn by heart. If students deviate from what is taught in the notes or the regulations, they would be criticized severely. Thus it has simply become suppression. The students lose their power of critical thinking and only know how to deal with examinations. Wang argues that moral education could be better taught through the methods proposed in the paper. This leads to the second implication of his argument.

If one looks closely at Wang's method, it is not speaking the old ideological voice. It is speaking what amounts to a new voice, which we have identified as regulative individualism. For example, he suggests that for those students who could not accept the answer provided by the teachers to their problems, as long as they have not broken the law, they should be left alone and



allowed to continue to think along their own path. When talking about open door policy, he suggests that it is true that once you open the window, good air and bad air would come into the room. However, it would not help if you isolate the students from this. Students should be left in the natural environment so that they could be exposed to good and bad air (Wang, 1/1986:22).

The other papers discuss the need for new forms of moral education and explain such needs. In Yan's paper (1988/11:50-54), one of the reasons of the need is *The Resolution of the CCP Central Committee with Regard to the Guiding Principles of the Construction of a Socialist Spiritual Civilization*. It was accepted on September 1986 by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth CCP Central Committee and then reconfirmed in the Thirteenth National Party Congress. For Yan, the *Resolution* actually recognises the legitimacy of personal need and interest and also acknowledge the multiplicity of such needs. His proposal for changes in the content and methods of moral education is therefore based on this recognition.

Lu (Lu, 1988/4:3-6) uses the same argument to justify the suggestion of changes in moral education in her paper. Changes in moral education suggested by Lu are justified with reference to the theory of the primary stages of socialism proposed and accepted in the Thirteenth Party National Congress in 1987.

The paper by Wang (1988/12:51-53) suggested that in the past, moral education has emphasized the cultivation of commonality as the criteria of judgment of moral paradigm. However, today, the issue is to pay respect and develop the uniqueness of each student as an individual (Wang, 1988/12:52). Using pop songs and discotheques as examples, the author argues that the reason for their popularity among the youths is because they can express individuality more easily than mass dance. The author then takes it as symbolizing the general social shift from homogeneity to heterogeneity. Again the author goes on to suggest a range of teaching methods. The most important change is the move from didactic method to dialectic method of teaching (Wang, 1988/12:53).

The paper by Shen (1988/9:58-61) is concerned with analysing the implications for moral education as more and more competitions are introduced into the Chinese education system by the Government. Shen makes an important comment about the changes that are brought about as a result of more competition within the system. He notes that people are relatively more individualistic, with a more developed value of democracy. People are now more concerned with their own goals of personal development. On the other hand, he notes that there is a decrease in the concern for the collectivity and inter-personal relationships have become more distanced. He then reports that this is most teachers' view and the overall trend is encouraging (Shen, 1988/9:58). He then moves on to discuss the importance of competition in the process of moral education and concluded the paper by offering some guidelines for introducing the notion competition in moral education.

The paper by Ni (1989/4:17-20) is worth discussing here. Ni himself was from the Radar College of the Air Force. Moreover, the paper was published just before the Tiananmen crackdown on



the democratic movement. Traditionally, the military establishment has been regarded as an important site of conservative force in China and perhaps this is also true in other parts of the world. In the paper, Ni firstly identifies the need to re-interpret what he called the macro-level environment of political education. On the one hand, contrary to the Stalinist model, capitalism is not on the verge of destruction. On the other hand, socialism is not as good as promised in the literature. He cites a number of problems in socialist countries, which included the internal party struggle within the Soviet Union, the Cultural Revolution in China and other problems in Eastern Europe. The author thus concludes that there is a need to have a new understanding of Marxism. Ni complains that in the past, Marxism has been given the status of general truth and hence becomes a taboo area, making it impossible for Marxist theory to further develop itself. This has the adverse effect of hampering the development of the theory to help people to deal with the complicated social and political problems today. The above theoretical formulation could have been applied to both traditional collectivism and regulated individualism. It is only when the

author discusses the need to recognize the changes of the students that the position of regulated individualism is revealed. Ni queries whether the old theory of class struggle and the military model of order and submission are anymore useful to tackle the contemporary problems. From the author's point of view, today's students do not only expect praise from the authority, they also have higher expectations and aspirations in cultural and political areas, and more importantly, the majority of students now taking political education have their own ways of thinking and systems of values. They even knew what to expect and how to express it. These, according to the author, must be recognized. From the point of view of this research, these are statements of regulated individualism.

The last two papers in this category attempt to construct a new model of moral education at the theoretical level (Liu, 1989/3:8-12; Chu, 1989/3:13-17). We consider that these two papers are the most important papers ever published by the journal on the issue of moral education. These two papers seek to provide a theoretical basis for a theory of subjectivity, which, from

the point of view of this research, is embedded in a discourse of regulative individualism. It is co-incidence that both papers were published in March 1989, the year when as we have suggested the editors in their editorial are most critical of State officials' control of education and complain that the interference is actually disturbing their work in education. March 89 is also only three months before the Tiananmen democracy crackdown by the Chinese Government. The first sentence in Liu's paper reads

"the principle of subjectivity is the basic principle of ideological education at universities and colleges." (Liu, 1989/3:8)

According to Liu, theories of moral education in the past have been based on what he calls the objectification of character training mechanism. From his point of view, moral education has become authoritarian, homogeneous and uni-directional. Thus students as human beings have not been treated as the starting point of moral education. Liu criticises that the main concern in past years has been the suppression of the student movement [76].

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76      Towards the end of 1986, university students around the country launched a number of demonstrations in their campuses and



This, according to him, has hindered the development of ideas about moral education in higher education.

Liu goes on to propose that there are three underlying basic notions in the idea of the principle of subjectivity. The first is the capacity of human beings to make autonomous choices. Although the actual process of choosing is likely to be affected by certain objective conditions, ultimately the choice has to be done by the individuals themselves. The second notion is the potential to be moulded and changed through interaction. The third notion is the potential to transcend. The actual formulation of the argument is quite complicated and we have no wish to go into detail here. For the purpose of our analysis, the importance of the argument is not about the formulation which is very important, but the way in which the argument is constructed. The discourse itself is not derived from any party document, text and speeches. The author just proposes a theory and suggests that this is what is needed for the development of socialist commodity economy. The author

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demanded democracy, more human rights and freedom of the press. It later led to the dismissal of Hu Yaobang from the post of Secretary of the Party in January 1987. Thus the Party was keen

then goes on to discuss the implications for the practice of moral education once his ideas are accepted as the basic principle.

The paper by Chu (1989/3:13-17) basically follows the same line but discusses the problem at a more theoretical level. The following abstract shows that subjectivity is now regarded as the theoretical basis for what we have called regulated individualism:

“At the same time when collectivism is being advocated, we should also advocate self-confidence, self-respect, self-reliance and self-strengthening. In the case of patriotism, we should pay attention to the moral education of citizens. We should emphasis the responsibility of individuals to the country, to reinforce a sense of social responsibility and on the other hand, we should also emphasis a sense of rights in participating social and state affairs and in enjoying the benefits offered by the society.” (Chu, 1989/3:15)

#### **7.9.4 Methods of Teaching (1985 and July, 1989)**

We shall now turn to the second largest group of papers in our RI(PP) papers: methods of teaching. There are four papers in

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to contain any seeds of student movement in the Campus.

this group.

The first paper in this group is by Wang (Wang, 1985/1:11-16). We have given a detailed discussion of a later paper by him (Wang, 1986/1:18-24) earlier in this chapter. It seems that this earlier paper (1985) is preparing the grounds for the later one in 1986. In this paper, Wang takes up what has been declared by Deng as the three directions Chinese education should face. In 1984, Deng sent an inscription to an elite secondary school: Education had to face modernization, the world and future. The editors take this up in the editorials of 1984 and 1985 to urge the educators to understand fully the meaning of Deng's words and carry out research work and practice to achieve the objectives declared by Deng (see chapter five on the analysis of the editorials). In the Chinese context, this means that the editors are urging other authors to use Deng's words to legitimate the production of new discourse in moral education. Wang takes this as legitimating what he is about to discuss in the paper. Wang first quotes some paragraphs by Lenin and goes on to suggest the need for discussing the need for changes in moral education with reference



to the changes in the wider society. Wang then argues that his suggestions on moral education are mainly one of the ways to achieve the three directions proposed by Deng. In the discussion of Wang's previous paper, we have already discussed his position on regulated individualism, and therefore we do not want to repeat the same discussion here.

Perhaps what is more important here is what Wang regards as the appropriate teaching methods to achieve the new objectives of moral education. According to Wang, the need for moral education to target students who show political ideological problems is outdated. The old method would only end in identifying and tackling class enemies among the students. However, the need now is to target the whole student population. There is also a need to balance social need and proper individual need. For Wang, while the students are told to contribute themselves wholeheartedly to the society, the country and the people, there is also a need to recognize proper individual interests, which should be the concern of the teachers. Wang also proposes various methods to improve the quality of moral

education. First of all, there is a need to have a systematic understanding of the students in accordance with their developmental stages and other factors, which would then form the basis of planning the content of moral education. Second, there is also a need to understand the nature of different methods so that teachers knew when and how to use these methods. Wang then moves on to discuss different ways to organize such knowledge. For Wang, the basic principle is that moral education is about education and not political activities.

The next paper is by Deng (1987/3:32-36), which is on the work of moral education in the special economic zones in Guangdong Province [77]. Deng approached the problem by identifying new characteristics of the students. A long list of characteristics about the students is given. In essence, it is suggested that today's students are more exposed to different sources of information and ideas and so it is more difficult for them to develop a sense of direction for their personal growth and

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77 Guangdong Province, which is in Southern China and whose territory includes Hong Kong, was created a special economic zone by the Chinese Government in the early eighties as a

they easily “get lost”. Moreover, the students need to develop a stronger motivation towards independence but they do not necessarily possess the ability. According to Deng, the planning of moral education should take this into consideration. Deng also goes further to produce a long list of considerations in designing new teaching methods. These include a more vigorous patriotic education and the need to take care of individuals needs in organizing such education programmes.

The third paper in this category is written by Yu (1988/2:53-56). Yu himself worked in a Party school in Wuhan, which is a very important industrial city in Central China. Yu starts the paper by suggesting that real education is “self education”. In the paper, “self education” is referred to by Yu, quoting from a Soviet educator, as everyone’s own sense of self, which serves to guide one’s behaviour. Thus the socialization of any individual has to be internalised through “self education”. According to Yu, in the past the notion of “self education” has not been recognized and hence too much concern has been given to education from the

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strategy to implement the open door policy.



“outside”. From the point of view of this analysis, the importance of the argument is the recognition of self in the analysis and in education. For the author, education has become a process of self-understanding by individual students. Yu proposed a number of methods to facilitate “self education”. These include self understanding and self strengthening, an example of which given by the author, is to aim high and work hard to achieve self adjustment, self encouragement and feedback.

The last paper in this group is concerned with what moral education could do to support democracy in China (Tong, 1988/6:34-35). In the paper, the trend concerning political democracy is first identified by the author and then he asks what the schools should do in moral education to support democracy. The suggestions include that democracy education is for socialist democracy, as well as that the teaching of democracy should be more concrete and should not be about slogans and rhetoric but should create a democratic environment, maintain an equal and democratic teacher student relationship, adopt a democratic teaching method, offer more chances to students to practice

democracy and encourage them to participate more.

#### 7.9.5 Others (1985 and July, 1989)

We shall now turn to the third and the last group of papers in our RI(PP) papers. There is one paper in this group, which is on university students.

This paper is written by the same author Yang, who contributes the first paper (Yang, 85/3:68-71) in the list on the “general” group. In that paper, Yang, who worked for Shanghai Higher Education Bureau, discusses the need for changes in moral education to prepare the students for the changing Chinese society. This paper (Yang, 1985/4:67-70), published one month later, is clearly a sequel. In the paper, Yang argues that it is important to bring those economic, political and ideological problems associated with the reform for classroom discussion. For example, students may query the future role of collectivism now that the idea of household responsibility is successful in the rural areas. According to Yang, this is a legitimate and genuine question and should be discussed by the teachers and students. It is wrong for

the teachers to dismiss such questions.

We shall now move to discuss ideological orientation with pedagogic practice papers in the third stage (July, 1989 - 1993).

#### **7.10 Traditional Collectivism (Pedagogic Practice) and Regulated Individualism (Pedagogic Practice): July, 1989 – 1993**

In our analysis of traditional collectivism and regulated individualism papers, we find that the trend for regulated individualism replacing traditional collectivism came to a halt after the Tiananmen incident in June, 1989. The journal now publishes papers on *both* traditional collectivism and regulated individualism until 1992, after which there are no traditional collectivism or regulated individualism papers. The shift between the two ideological orientations can be detected in the ideological orientation with pedagogic practice papers published between July, 1989 - 1993 (Table 7.10)



**Table 7.10     The Distribution of Papers on Traditional Collectivism (Pedagogic Practice) and Regulated Individualism (Pedagogic Practice) between Jul 89 and 93**

| Forms of TC(PP) and RI(PP) |                         | Jul-Dec, 89 | 90 | 91 | 92 | 93 | Sub-total |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|----|----|----|----|-----------|
| TC(PP)                     | Methods of Teaching     | 1           | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1         |
|                            | Schools                 | 0           | 1  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1         |
|                            | University              | 0           | 0  | 1  | 0  | 0  | 1         |
|                            | General                 | 0           | 0  | 0  | 1  | 0  | 1         |
| RI(PP)                     | General                 | 0           | 0  | 0  | 0  | 2  | 2         |
|                            | Methods of Teaching     | 0           | 0  | 1  | 0  | 0  | 1         |
|                            | Empirical Investigation | 0           | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 1         |
| Total                      |                         | 1           | 1  | 2  | 1  | 3  | 8         |

TC(PP): Traditional Collectivism with Pedagogic Practice  
RI(PP): Regulated Individualism with Pedagogic Practice

In general, it seems that the movement we have noted earlier during the periods between 1981 and 1984, and then between 1985 and June, 1989, from traditional collectivism to regulated individualism is repeated in this period (July 1989 and 1993). We must be cautious about this comparison because it is based only on the year 1993, when there were no papers on traditional collectivism (pedagogic practice) but three on regulated individualism (pedagogic practice). We should perhaps comment that prior to 1993, there were four papers emphasizing traditional

collectivism (pedagogic practice) and only one paper emphasizing regulated individualism (pedagogic practice). Unfortunately we are not extending our analysis beyond 1993 to see whether this movement would be maintained.

#### **7.10.1        Traditional Collectivism (Pedagogic Practice): July, 1989 – 1993**

We shall discuss traditional collectivism (pedagogic practice) [TC(PP)] papers first. Within this category, there are four papers, each belonging to a different group of papers: methods of teaching, schools, university and general.

The first paper (Zhang, 1989/7:59-62) in this category is concerned with competition. In 1988, the journal published a paper (Shen, 1988/9:58-61) which advocates the use of competition in moral education. Shen's paper is identified by us as a paper of regulated individualism with pedagogic practice. This paper, published right after June, 1989 refutes this position. What is interesting is how the author constructs the arguments against the use of competition in educational work in general and moral

education in particular. The author criticises the notion of competition on two aspects. The first line of refutation adopted in the paper is an academic argument. Zhang argues that competition may not be the best way to encourage the students to study hard. A number of research studies are cited to show, for example, that co-operation might be a better method than competition to encourage learning.

The second is an ideological critique. We have summarized Shen's argument in the previous section: "there was a decrease in the concern for the collectivity ". He then reports that this is most teachers' view and so the overall trend is encouraging (Shen, 1988/9:58)". This view is actually quoted by Zhang, who criticises the paper's tacit endorsement of individualism. Interestingly, Zhang does not quote Party and government documents to criticize the ideological implications of Shen's argument. Instead Zhang quotes a number of research studies, mostly in the area of social psychology, from the West to show the inevitability of widespread individualism as a result of using the method of competition in teaching.



The second paper (Chen and Mei, 1991/6:31-34) is concerned with the need to strengthen student work in the campus to help and equip university students to resist the confusion as a result of the influx of Western philosophy into the universities in the eighties. According to the author, because of the open door policy, the works of Sartre, Freud and Nietzsche have become available to the students. This has resulted in the students' rejection of Marxism and Maoism and political education itself. The commodity culture has also helped to spread too much concern with personal interest. The author then discusses what could be done in the area of campus culture to remedy the situation.

The third paper is written by two authors, both working in the Institute for Educational Research in the People's Liberation Army. The paper is classified TC(PP)—general. The authors argued in the paper that the Chinese military culture has a strong tradition of patriotism. The authors actually identifies certain features of the tradition of Chinese military culture: its patriotic

tradition, its concern about contributing oneself to the country and its concern about “practice” all of which should make different contributions to moral and patriotic education.

The last paper in this category is about discussing the role of the school in strengthening moral education (Zhou, 1990/1:37-39).

#### **7.10.2        Regulated Individualism (Pedagogic Practice): July, 1989 – 1993**

We shall now turn to the papers that we have identified as regulated individualism with pedagogic practice. A total of four papers are identified. They belong to three different categories. Two papers are concerned with general, and one with methods of teaching and the other with empirical investigation.

The first paper from this group which we shall examine is by Lu (1993/5:42-46). This is Lu’s second paper on regulated individualism with pedagogic practice paper. In her first paper (Lu, 1988/4:3-6) Lu was justifies the need for moral education

within the regulative individualism framework with reference to the theory of the primary stages of socialism, which have been accepted as the official theory of the Party in the Thirteenth Party National Congress. In the new paper, Lu identifies four sets of dichotomies of moral education. Basically, Lu argues that moral education should be more concerned with its productive function, rather than its political function. Moreover, it should be more concerned with its function to develop the individuals' uniqueness, rather than as an instrument of society. Thirdly, it should be more concerned with developing the multiple dimensions of the personality of each individual, rather than the unidimension of politics. Lastly, moral education should be more concerned with development, showing the possibilities of growth, instead of restriction.

The next paper (Liu, 1993/4:36-44) is concerned with the ways to improve the effectiveness of moral education.

There is only one paper on methods of teaching. The major issue in the paper is a proposal for socialist civic education (Liu



and Zhang, 1991/6:43-47). The proposal includes an analysis of the requirement, the content and methods of the programme for training socialist citizenship.

The last paper in this group reports the result of an empirical investigation carried out by the Project Section of the Education Bureau of the Central Committee of CCP. It is a large scale survey, which involved a total of 136 secondary schools and around 7000 students from different cities in the country and supplemented by seminars, interviews and case studies. The study examined the extent to which secondary students from various places developed their different value orientations and the possible problems for them in the development of their value systems. The report is too long to be reported here. The significance of this paper is the topic of study itself. The paper recognises the changes in the value system brought about by economic reform and points out that nowadays secondary students want to maintain a balance between private and public interests. From the point of view of this research, the paper signifies recognition of regulated individualism and the research is

not interested in combating regulated individualism but to understand it and try to formulate plans to help the students to find the right balance.

A summary of the papers with ideological orientations (traditional collectivism/regulated individualism) with pedagogic practice is given below.

**Table 7.11** Summary of the Distribution of Various Formats of Papers with Ideological Orientations (Traditional Collectivism/Regulated Individualism) with Pedagogic Practice between 1981 and 1993


|           | TC(PP)  |                     |        |           | RI(PP)  |                     |        |           |
|-----------|---------|---------------------|--------|-----------|---------|---------------------|--------|-----------|
|           | General | Methods of Teaching | Others | Sub-total | General | Methods of Teaching | Others | Sub-total |
| 1981      | 3       | 0                   | 3      | 6         | 0       | 0                   | 0      | 0         |
| 1982      | 0       | 3                   | 3      | 6         | 0       | 0                   | 0      | 0         |
| 1983      | 0       | 2                   | 0      | 2         | 0       | 0                   | 0      | 0         |
| 1984      | 2       | 1                   | 1      | 4         | 0       | 0                   | 0      | 0         |
| 1985      | 0       | 1                   | 1      | 2         | 3       | 1                   | 1      | 5         |
| 1986      | 0       | 0                   | 0      | 0         | 1       | 0                   | 0      | 1         |
| 1987      | 0       | 1                   | 0      | 1         | 1       | 1                   | 0      | 2         |
| 1988      | 0       | 2                   | 0      | 2         | 6       | 2                   | 0      | 8         |
| 1-6/89    | 0       | 0                   | 0      | 0         | 4       | 0                   | 0      | 4         |
| 7-12/89   | 0       | 1                   | 0      | 1         | 0       | 0                   | 0      | 0         |
| 1990      | 0       | 0                   | 1      | 1         | 0       | 0                   | 0      | 0         |
| 1991      | 0       | 0                   | 1      | 1         | 0       | 1                   | 0      | 1         |
| 1992      | 1       | 0                   | 0      | 1         | 0       | 0                   | 0      | 0         |
| 1993      | 0       | 0                   | 0      | 0         | 2       | 0                   | 1      | 3         |
| Sub-total | 6       | 11                  | 10     | 27        | 17      | 5                   | 2      | 24        |

TC(PP): Traditional Collectivism with Pedagogic Practice

RI(PP): Regulated Individualism with Pedagogic Practice

TC(PP) – others include: school, empirical investigation, primary students, youth, university students and higher students

RI(PP) – others include: university students and empirical investigation

 The year of restricted ideological orientation as announced in the editorials

We can make a number of observations from the table.



First, in the last section on the papers on traditional collectivism (pedagogic practice) and regulated individualism (pedagogic practice) (Table 7.11), we find that between 1981 and 1984, most papers are devoted to traditional collectivism. The emphasis shifts to regulated individualism between 1985 and June 1989. The trend comes to a halt after June 1989. The cycle of shift from TC to RI is then repeated between July 1989 and 1993. In a way, the third period (between 1989 and 1993) almost becomes a microcosm of the first two periods. In this section, the same pattern is repeated. In the first period (between 1981 and 1984), there are a total of 18 papers on traditional collectivism with pedagogic practice [TC(PP)] but none on regulated individualism with pedagogic practice [RI(PP)]. The dominance of TC(PP) is reversed in the second period (between 1985 and June 1989). Now the majority of papers are on RI(PP) (20 papers). On the other hand, there are only a total of 5 papers on TC(PP). Again, June 1989 is the “fault” line. The editors published relatively more papers on TC(PP) in the first half of the third period (July 1989 and 1993) and then relatively more papers on RI(PP) in the second half of the period. The overall pattern remains the same. The number

is however very small and therefore our interpretation must be tentative only.

Second, we may also examine the forms of pedagogic practice through which the ideological orientation is speaking. For TC(PP) papers, a total of twenty seven papers covering the whole range of classification of pedagogic practice — eight groups of pedagogic practice, the largest two groups being general (six papers) and methods of teaching (eleven papers). However, for RI(PP) papers, there are only twenty-four papers in four groups. The largest group is general with seventeen papers. The content of all the RI(PP) — general papers is mainly about the theoretical aspects of the pedagogy projected from that specific ideological orientation. It seems that in the TC(PP) group, the concern emphasises the **application** of the ideological orientation to various aspects of the pedagogic practice of moral education. Here, the issue is not, as in the case of traditional collectivism, to explore the nature of pedagogic practice, but to show how regulated individualism is to be implemented in the pedagogic sphere. In a sense, it is a pedagogisation of political ideology.



In other words, the authors are more concerned with creating and exploring the nature and the intrinsic property of the pedagogic space generated by regulated individualism. The link between regulated individualism and specific pedagogic practices has to be worked out. It is as if the authors are constructing their own educational ideology in the space permitted by the State. To use the language of the pedagogic device, two different principles of distributive rules privilege two different forms of pedagogic recontextualisation. We shall come back to this point after we have considered the final group of papers: pedagogic practice without explicit ideological orientation.

### **7.11 Pedagogic Practice without Explicit Ideological Orientation: 1981 and 1993**

In this section, we are going to examine the discourse of moral education as projected in pedagogic practice without explicit ideological orientation papers (PP) throughout the whole period in this research (1981 and 1993). This is the largest group of paper on moral education published by the journal. A total of 147 PP papers were published between 1981 and 1993 (63.6% of the



total number of papers). Using the forms of pedagogic practice from the last section, we get the following distribution (see Table 7.12).

Table 7.12     Distribution of Pedagogic Practice Papers in Various categories between 1981 and 1993

|               | General | Methods of Teaching | Others   |                                      |                  |                      | Sub-total |
|---------------|---------|---------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------|
|               |         |                     | Teachers | Empirical Investigation & Case Study | Children & Youth | School (Pri. & Sec.) |           |
| 1981          | 16      | 3                   | 2        | 2                                    | 4                | 1                    | 28        |
| 1982          | 7       | 4                   | 1        | 1                                    | 0                | 0                    | 13        |
| 1983          | 9       | 2                   | 0        | 1                                    | 0                | 0                    | 12        |
| 1984          | 1       | 3                   | 0        | 0                                    | 0                | 1                    | 5         |
| 1985          | 5       | 0                   | 0        | 1                                    | 0                | 0                    | 6         |
| 1986          | 7       | 1                   | 0        | 1                                    | 0                | 0                    | 9         |
| 1987          | 6       | 2                   | 0        | 1                                    | 0                | 0                    | 9         |
| 1988          | 4       | 4                   | 0        | 1                                    | 0                | 0                    | 9         |
| Jan-Jun, 89   | 0       | 0                   | 0        | 2                                    | 0                | 0                    | 2         |
| Jul - Dec, 89 | 5       | 2                   | 0        | 0                                    | 1                | 1                    | 9         |
| 1990          | 11      | 3                   | 0        | 0                                    | 0                | 0                    | 14        |
| 1991          | 13      | 1                   | 0        | 0                                    | 0                | 0                    | 14        |
| 1992          | 9       | 1                   | 0        | 1                                    | 0                | 0                    | 11        |
| 1993          | 4       | 0                   | 0        | 1                                    | 1                | 0                    | 6         |
| Sub-total     | 97      | 26                  | 3        | 12                                   | 6                | 3                    | 147       |

Given the importance of ideology in the discussion of moral education, it is somewhat surprising that the majority of papers

published in this category do not directly addressing ideological issues. Indeed, in the first period in our research (between 1981 and 1984), the journal published a total of fifty-eight PP papers (39.5% of all PP papers).

Compared with papers in the previous analysis, the concerns of the authors in the practice categories are more varied. Given the limitation of space, we are unable to give a full summary of these papers. However, it is possible for us to further explore our major concern. Our concern here is the extent to which the shift from traditional collectivism to regulated individualism has also affected the development of forms of pedagogic practice in PP papers. Although the arguments in these papers are not constructed with explicit reference to, legitimated by or derived from any ideological statements, it may be possible for us to understand whether or not a paper is embedded in an ideological orientation. In a study of relationship between class and visible and invisible pedagogies (Bernstein, 1973, 1996), Bernstein demonstrates the methods for determining the social basis of learning theories and their appropriation as the guiding

principles of forms of pedagogic instructions.

Since we have been able to demonstrate that two ideological orientations (traditional collectivism and regulated individualism) construct different pedagogic discourses, we should be able to extract major concepts and assumptions which are intrinsic to the relevant ideological orientations. In other words, it should be possible for us to establish the pedagogic voice through which an ideological orientation is speaking.

This, however, does not mean the pedagogic discourses, implying traditional collectivism and regulated individualism, do not have concerns common to them. For example, it is clear that the two pedagogic discourses entail a concept of teachers. The revolutionary pedagogic practice dominant during the Cultural Revolution does not necessitate a concept of teachers. Although teachers existed during the Cultural Revolution, they did not exist as agents of a specialized activity in the symbolic field. Instead, they were expected to be part of the revolutionary agents in the integrated fields of production and symbolic control. As the Post-



Cultural Revolution era entails a separation of the fields of production and symbolic control, teachers regain their own specialized status as the major agents in the field of education. However, it is also clear that their roles as the agents in the field of education are defined differently under traditional collectivism and regulated individualism.

From Table 7.11, papers in the categories general and methods of teaching constitute the majority of the papers in this group (83.7%, see Table 7.11). It is these papers which form the sample we are about to analyse here. By studying closely all the papers we have analyzed (with the exception of “others”, see table 7.10), we have produced a list of important concepts and notions associated with the two ideological orientations. This list is attached to this thesis as appendix 3. The list becomes our checklist of attributes. The two groups of paper (general and methods of teaching) from the PP category are then re-examined in the light of the checklist of attributes. It should be noted that our list of attributes is gathered from traditional collectivism (pedagogic practice) and regulated individualism (pedagogic

practice) and these attributes are being applied to the PP papers.

In this exercise, the task is to determine whether any paper can act as the implicit voice of an ideological orientation. For each paper, there are three possibilities: (1) traditional collectivism; (2) regulated individualism or (3) neutral. In the case of (1) or (2), this means that the argument developed is embedded in either traditional collectivism or regulated individualism. In the case of (3), the argument developed cannot be assigned to either. The result is presented in Table 7.13.

Table 7.13     Distribution of Pedagogic Practice (General and Methods of Teaching) Papers with Respect to ideological orientation between 1981 and 1993

| Years            | TC biased | RI biased | Neutral |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| 1981             | 7         | 3         | 9       |
| 1982             | 7         | 2         | 2       |
| 1983             | 3         | 3         | 5       |
| 1984             | 1         | 1         | 2       |
| 1985             | 2         | 2         | 1       |
| 1986             | 0         | 2         | 7       |
| 1987             | 0         | 2         | 6       |
| 1988             | 1         | 2         | 5       |
| Jan - June, 1989 | 0         | 0         | 0       |
| July - Dec, 1989 | 1         | 3         | 3       |
| 1990             | 4         | 4         | 6       |
| 1991             | 2         | 4         | 8       |
| 1992             | 1         | 4         | 5       |
| 1993             | 0         | 2         | 2       |
| Sub-total        | 29        | 34        | 61      |

TC biased:        PP paper biased towards traditional collectivism  
RI biased:        PP paper biased towards regulated individualism

We can see that the previous pattern of shift between traditional collectivism and regulated individualism reappears. Between 1981 and 1984, there are eighteen papers which were have been regarded as biased towards traditional collectivism. But at the same time, only nine papers have been regarded as biased towards regulated individualism. The emphasis is reversed in the years between 1985 and June 1989, when three papers are found to



be biased towards traditional collectivism but eight papers were biased towards regulated individualism. The trend again comes to a halt after July 1989, after which the journal publishes more papers on both traditional collectivism and regulated individualism biased PP papers.

## **7.12 Two Specialisations of the Discourse of Moral Education**

It seems that from the papers on moral education emerge two different ideological positions which give rise to two different specialisations of the discourse on moral education. In this section, we shall give an outline of how we consider the ways traditional collectivism and regulated individualism produce two different forms of pedagogic discourses regulating practice.

We shall concentrate for this analysis on the following papers:

- (1) papers which mediate explicit traditional collectivism (49 papers)

- (2) papers which mediate explicit regulated individualist (27 papers)

In Bernstein's terms, pedagogic discourse is an embedded discourse in which a regulative discourse is embedded in an instructional discourse. This embedding is created by a theory of instruction. Bernstein shows that this theory of instruction is itself derived from regulative discourse (Bernstein, 1986). The theory of instruction defines the concept of the teacher and student and their relation to the form, content and assessment of the practice.

We shall examine traditional collectivism and regulated individualism papers referred to above and attempt to abstract the theories of instruction and the concepts of the pedagogic subject from these two ideological orientations. In the case of moral education the pedagogic subject is no more and no less than the expected relation between the individual and the collective. In other words, the pedagogic subject is transformed into a moral self. We shall now examine the theories of instruction and the concept of self as these are realized in the pedagogic discourses of

traditional collectivism and regulated individualism.

The method that we will use to infer the different modalities of moral education is similar to the method we have used throughout the whole thesis. We shall quote from relevant papers published in the journal to indicate the different discursive resources upon which the two modalities are based.

#### **7.12.1      The Concept of Self and the Theory of Instruction in traditional collectivist Paper**

To the agents of traditional collectivism, the Modernization programme launched by the CCP in 1978 generates two different concepts of change. In the field of production, the concern is about relaxing State control over the production process. However, in the field of symbolic control, the concern is about preserving socialism but with a modality of control different from that under radical collectivism, which we have identified as the dominant ideological orientation during the Cultural Revolution. Thus, it is clear that there are two different discursive resources for activities in the fields of production and symbolic control. In the field of



production, the key word is “reform”, whereas in the field of symbolic control, the key word is “restoration”, which has clearly been derived from the four cardinal principles announced by Deng on March, 30, 1979 (Goldman, 1994:50) [78]. In the words of Bernstein, it is pointing to a prospective pedagogic identity (Bernstein, 1997:166). This view is neatly summarized by Zhang, when he suggests that there is a need to understand correctly the relationship between material incentive and spiritual incentive.

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78      The four cardinal principles are: to uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the communist party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

“To rectify the neglect of material interest for the mass and over emphasis or over dominance of politics in the past, we have now initiated the bonus welfare system. However, there is now an emerging trend of only paying attention to material incentive and neglecting spiritual incentive, as well as ideological and political work. There is also an emerging phenomenon of ‘coming together to work for money’. In the past, when we were living in the war and revolutionary environment, we relied upon working extremely hard, and the will to sacrifice ourselves to fight the enemies within this country and abroad in order for us to win the war. In order to achieve the Four Modernization programmes, apart from paying attention to the material welfare of the mass, we have to educate the people in the spirit of communism (Zhang, 1981/2:5).

From the point of view of this research, the underlying issue of the four cardinal principles is the request by the State for individuals to submit themselves to the collectivity.

#### A) The concept of self

In traditional collectivism, morality is always defined in terms of the relationship between individuals and collectivity.

For example, quoting from the work of Lenin, Song argues that

“The proletariat collectivist principle is a realization of a modern social relationship between individual and the collectivity. Its basic demand is, under the premise of individual interest subsumed under the interest of collectivity, to integrate the interest of individual and collectivity. Its highest level of realization is the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly and concerning nothing but the public good. Hence, communist morality is incompatible with various forms of individualism” (Song, 1981/11: 3)

Thus any concern for personal interest is to be seen as a potential threat to the collective interest. Hence, traditional collectivism is by definition restrictive. It serves to remind the acquirer of the constant need to put the interest of the collectivity before their personal interest. To the agents of traditional collectivism, liberalization of the field of production should never be introduced in the field of symbolic control. In a way, liberalization of the field of production that took place during the 80's is a compromised strategy between public ownership and the hard reality of the potential of private ownership. In the language of Bernstein, there is strong classification between the discursive



resources in the fields of production and symbolic control. Indeed, one paper in the journal actually warns that it may be appropriate to apply behaviourist theories in industrial management, but it is absolutely inappropriate for the theories to be used in moral education and the only reliable source for moral education is Marxism (Cjo, 1981/12).

In the papers on moral education, there are different ways to construct the moral self in traditional collectivism. They may be either through recontextualising the works of Lenin (Song, 1981/11; Zheng, 1982/4), Marx (Zhong, 1981/6), Mao (Chu, 1982/4), Marx (Song, 1983/3) and Liu (Song, 1982/4) or through Party documents (Zhang, 1981/2). In this respect, Song himself is an important figure. He worked in the Chinese Communist Party Cadre School, and thus, from the point of view of this research, is an agent of institutions specialized in educational ideology (IED). Over the years, the journal published three papers from him, which had all been identified as traditional collectivism related papers in this research. Nonetheless, we have indicated in a previous chapter that most of the contributors for these papers

came from institutions specialized in educational theory (IET), e.g. universities and colleges.

As we have indicated in the earlier section in this chapter, the need to subsume the individuals under the collective serves to become the resource for the expression of traditional collectivism. We have suggested that there are three ways in which traditional collectivism is expressed. They are:

- (1) as a necessary conscience collective for the Chinese society;
- (2) as teaching from respectable political figures; and
- (3) as an ideological position to combat some bad influences imported into China as a result of the open door policy.

For example, in a paper by Gan (6/1982), the author discusses the importance of acquiring a proletariat view of the world in the building of socialism. Gan defines the proletariat view of the world as

“In the process of socialism, we not only need a high level of material civilization, we also need a high degree of spiritual civilization ... In order to build spiritual civilization, ... we strive to have as many participants of the society as possible to have the self consciousness of working hard for the communist ideal and the willingness to devote themselves to the good course of socialism” (Gan, 6/1982:83).

In another paper, traditional collectivism acts as a discursive resource from which criticism of educational ideologies is based. For example, Li (8/1982) criticizes what he calls an egocentric view of life. Li argues that “in a socialist country like China, to satisfy the needs of oneself (reasonable self interest) and to improve on the degree of material interest after all depends upon the achievement of socialism” (Li, 8/1982:31). Hence, according to Li, it is not acceptable for individuals to place self-interest before the interest of the socialist collective.

This version of the collectivist self is more or less the same communist ideal advocated during the Cultural Revolution. In both cases, the self has no social position and significance except only when derived from the collectivity. Thus it is a dangerous



position for one to think of the self without due reference to the collective. Moreover, as we shall demonstrate in the next section, the same role model (e.g. Lei Feng [79]) is used as the exemplar figure. The difference is in the inherent structure of the social division of labour that brings about collectivism. During the Cultural Revolution, radical collectivism, as identified in this thesis, was realised through a simple division of labour whereby production and education were integrated. In the Post-Cultural Revolution reform, on the other hand, traditional collectivism is realised through a complex division of labour whereby production and education are two separate but related social processes.

## B) The concept of instruction

In Bernstein's study of pedagogic practice, he identifies four rules which construct a pedagogic discourse. According to

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79 Lei Feng was a soldier in the People's Liberation Army. He was accidentally killed when trying to save the lives of people in an accident during the Cultural Revolution. Then it was discovered in his diaries how he had always been concerned with other people in the community and had given his own interest a very low priority. This was later adopted by the Party as the exemplar of how a Communist Party member should contribute

Bernstein, the hierarchical rules, sequencing rules, criteria rules and pacing rules constitute the pedagogic practice but the realisation of these rules is regulated by classification and framing. The theory of instruction interacts with classification and framing. Our case study does not allow us to examine classification and framing. However it enables us to abstract a theory of instruction and its relation to traditional collectivism.

Traditional collectivism is mainly concerned with the submission of individuals to collectivities. Thus, any theory of instruction must be able to socialise individuals into the relationship generated from traditional collectivism. A theory that is mentioned in the paper and elsewhere in the journal is "the theory of the collective" proposed by the famous Soviet educator, A Makarenko (Tao, 1982/4). Based on the discussion of Makareno's theory, Tao suggests certain pedagogic principles, which are different ways by which the students learn to take part in the collective life. For example, Tao believes that the general opinion of the collective (e.g., the school class) can be an effective

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himself/herself to the collective good.

mechanism for individual students to understand what the collectivity expects from them. In another paper, Zheng et al reported their experience in cultivating collectivism among engineering students (Zhang et al, 1982/6).

Another method of teaching that appears frequently is the use of role models in moral education. As suggested by Reed, “cultural heroes, role -models and moral exemplars are one means through which the continuity of Chinese culture has been expressed over the centuries” (Reed, 1995:99). The method is still widely used in China. Thus, Huang (1986/11), whose institutional affiliation is the Chinese People’s Liberation Army National Defence University, explains the need to use “progressive people and their events” in the campus. Examples are given in the paper to illustrate what events and who should be selected for this function of providing exemplars. For example, the author chooses the story of a soldier, who, after losing his sight, is determined to spend his time on writing poems to glorify the revolution. Thus these examples are concerned with individuals' willingness to serve the collectivity.



In another paper, Chen explains how Zhang Haidi, a very famous exemplary figure promoted by the Chinese Government in the mid-eighties, is desperate to learn, despite being crippled, in order to serve communism (Chen, 1984/6).

Apart from the use of role models, another often mentioned method of instruction is that of productive labour. Chen explains in a paper that asking the students to participate in productive labour is a necessary component of moral education (Chen, 1984/6). Through productive labour, students “not only acquire a revolutionary view of life, also enhance the formation of communist characteristics” (Chen, 1984/6:43).

We shall now turn to a discussion of the underlying concepts of the regulative discourse of regulated individualism.

### **7.12.2 Major Concepts Underlying the Pedagogic Discourse of Regulated Individualist Papers**

Traditional collectivism draws discursive resources from “classical” socialism to insulate the field of symbolic control from

the liberalisation of the field of production. In this sense, it is an ideology of “restriction” and “prohibition”. On the other hand, regulated individualism draws discursive resources from a wider range of sources and attempts to bring about changes in the field of symbolic control to resonate with changes in the field of production. Hence, regulated individualism is an ideology about change.

From the point of view of traditional collectivism, changes in the field of production can be seen as instrumental to the development of socialism, but the same changes in the field of symbolic control could contaminate socialism. Hence, the greater liberalisation of the field of production, the greater the need is generated for traditional collectivism in the field of symbolic control. However, from the point of view of regulated individualism, changes in the field of symbolic control are inevitable as changes in the field of production are bound to have an impact on the ways in which discourses are constructed in the field of symbolic control. Hence, it is important to construct a discourse about individual space in the symbolic field, which is

against the position of traditional collectivism. Therefore, regulated individualism is an ideology about “elaboration” as opposed to restriction imposed by traditional collectivism. It is also about attempts to define individual uniqueness, rather than defining individuals in terms of the “needs” of the collectivity. It is about preserving and indeed recognising individuality within a looser individual-collectivity relationship than what is presupposed in traditional collectivism. Moreover, as we have discussed elsewhere in this thesis, this recognition of individuality is only conditional upon its potential contribution to the development of Chinese society. Thus, discussions of regulated individualism are usually legitimated not as ideological positions but as a pre-requisite to the success of the Modernisation programme. Thus, from the point of view of regulated individualism, its difference from that of traditional collectivism is that it is not an ideological opposition but an **elaboration within it**. However, from the point of view of traditional collectivism, it is **possible**, but not necessary that regulated individualism is a position of bourgeois liberalism, which is a dangerous position.



As we shall demonstrate below, this has important consequences for the ways in which the concept of the moral self and the theories of instruction are discussed in the papers we have identified as RI related papers.

#### A) The concept of self

In the papers on regulated individualism, the self is often presented as something which exists in its own way and should not just be interpreted as a derivative of the collectivity. The individual self should be recognised and be allowed to develop in its own way.

For example, Wang suggests that

“If moral education does not take into consideration the self interest of the youth and to satisfy their normal needs, then they are not willing to be educated for the sake of contributing themselves to the society. In this new period, there are more and more normal needs which should be recognised by us. Thus how we are to take this into consideration has become a problem which we must address.” (Wang, 1985/1:14)

Indeed, in 1985, when five papers on regulated individualism were first published in the form of RI (PP) papers, the discussion of self was justified in various ways. In the case of Wang (Wang, 1985/1), the discussion was made with reference to the need to implement what Deng has proclaimed as the aims of education in contemporary China: “education had to face modernisation, the world and future”. The other four (Yang, 1985/1, 1985/3; Yuang, 85/7; Huang, 85/9) discuss the issue of the self with reference to the changes brought about as a result of changes in the field of production and the need to achieve the Modernisation programme.

In another paper, the author argues that

“The autonomy of self and self-governing are not incompatible with and in opposition to the collectivity and society. In the contrary, it is a higher form of development of the society is now based upon self consciousness and self regulation.” (Yang, 1987/10)

This argument is made in the context of the implementation

of the document, *The Resolution of the CCP Central Committee with Regard to the Guiding Principles of the Construction of a Socialist Spiritual Civilisation* passed on September, 1986 by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth CCP Central Committee, and then reconfirmed in the Thirteenth National Party Congress. In these papers, regulated individualism is presented as an answer to policy alternatives. In other words, the legitimacy for discussing regulated individualism is derived from the space created and permitted by state policies.

Until 1989 there are only two papers which discussed the notion of regulated individualism in its own terms (Chu, 1989/3; Liu, 1989/3). Our analysis in the earlier chapters indicates that, towards the end of the eighties and just before the June fourth crackdown of the democratic movement by the Chinese State, even the editorials published by this journal have become very critical about the “Government hand” in interfering what is regarded by the editors as pure academic discussion. Thus it is perhaps not surprising to find Chu arguing that



“the so called initiatives of human beings in moral actions entail two levels of meaning. The first is that morality is rooted in the need for the collective to maintain its survival and development. It is also originated from the intrinsic need of the individuals in pursuit of their life values, self-realisation and emancipation of selves.... The self-independence in morality, which is also self-regulatory function of morality, is in fact the core component of the principle of subjectivity in human beings.” (Chu, 3/1989:13)

Hence, according to Chu, the self has its own discursive existence, which should be recognised and is also a subject of discussion.

In another paper, Liu discusses the pedagogic implications of moral education on the basis of the principle of subjectivity (Liu, 3/1989). This paper has a very interesting argument. He suggests that higher education is intrinsically a site for subjectivity to become a source of action. For Liu, higher education is by nature concerned with “free debates of scientific ideas, democratic discussion, choosing the best after comparing to each other and inventing new things out of free will”. Hence, phenomena like

arbitrary decision, imposing views on others, and uniformity are unacceptable. Liu then goes on to suggest that today, in the context of socialist commodity economy and the development of democratic politics, this type of “subjectivity personality” character has moved beyond the “elitist castle”, which means universities, and become the common demand from the citizenry (Liu, 3/1989:8). In our opinion, Liu has effectively proposed a statement about the nature of what we have identified as regulated individualism in this thesis. He is suggesting that the field of higher education is constructed on the basis of individualism, rather than collectivism. From his perspective, the liberalisation within the field of production has created a certain form of individualism within from the site of higher education. Indeed, Liu’s discussion shows the way forward for moral education in the field of higher education from the perspective of regulated individualism.

#### (B) The concept of instruction

In the previous session, we have discussed the ways in

which traditional collectivism became the discursive resource for generating the appropriate concepts and methods of teaching. Basically, those methods that help to maintain the homogeneity of the collective are selected. In this section, we shall be outlining the ways in which regulated individualism becomes the discursive resource for generating what is regarded as appropriate concepts and methods of teaching. Here, the emphasis is about methods which enhance the transmitters ability to identify and then develop the uniqueness of individuals. The recommendation given by Wang in his paper serves to illustrate how such a shift of emphasis affects the concern of teachers in moral education:

“A senior form student publicly declines to apply for membership of the Communist Youth League. The reason that he gives is that he still does not adequately understand communism. He then borrows a lot of book on communism and earnestly studies them. Another student does not even know about basic knowledge of communism, but this student keeps on requesting to join Communist Youth League.” (Wang, 1/1985:13)

Wang also compares two cases in which students in one case ask a lot of questions like “Japan is not led by communist



party, why does its economy develop so fast”, “Is American Imperialism not facing to its extinction, why is it still so developed”. In another case, the students do not ask any questions and just accept whatever taught by the teachers. Wang suggests that people easily regard the behaviour of the latter students as being more ideologically progressive. From his point of view, it is the former students who should be praised and not the latter group. Wang uses these examples to illustrate that it is not possible to apply some simple criteria across the board to make the judgement anymore. According to Wang, the only way to go forward is to try to understand the contextual factors that underpin students’ moral behaviour. Hence different students must be studied in an objective way and judgement about them should be guided by these objective methods.

It is this notion of method which underpins various proposals of teaching methods recommended by Wang. Inherent in this notion of method is the idea that individuals’ interest should be recognised at the same time when they are requested to fulfil the interest of the collectivity. Wang suggests that

“We are now requesting the students to offer themselves for the interest of the society, the country, the people and the collective wholeheartedly. This is entirely necessary. Although individual interest has already been part of the societal interest, they are not always wholly compatible with each other ...In fact, youths have their own reasonable interests and hobbies. These needs have to be satisfied and taken care of.” (Wang, 1/1985:14)

Thus, from Wang’s point of view, individual interests cannot be just reduced to the derivation of collective interests. Hence, a particular concept of instruction is being called for. Wang then proceeds to answer the question he sets for himself by proposing a wide range of methods. His suggestions include:

- (1) to re-arrange the content of moral education in accordance with the age range of the receivers and various types of ideals in a hierarchical and sequential order.
- (2) to have a more comprehensive understanding of different methods of teaching so that the merits and disadvantages of these methods are better understood and teachers know how to use different methods or combinations of methods

under different conditions of teaching.

- (3) to organize different approaches of moral education into a comprehensive network, so that the effects of moral education can be strengthened.
- (4) to raise the status, remuneration and quality of the staff working in moral education (Wang, 1/1985:14-15).

Thus, it is clear that Wang's concern is on methods which are sensitive to the contexts of learning, instead of those contexts which privilege modalities of control generated from collectivism. In this case, changes of the contexts of learning are identified as the changes of features of the receivers (students), which include their age, their cognitive levels and their various ideas. The tasks of teachers are thus concerned with selecting the right teaching methods for students who may have different needs in their socialisation into the moral world. The relationship between transmitters (teachers) and receivers (students) is thus more directly pedagogised and indirectly politicised. Political relationships have to be mediated through the selection of teaching methods by the teachers. In the case of traditional



collectivism, as discussed before, the pedagogic relationship between transmitters and receivers is more **indirect** while their relationship is more directly politicised because the teachers have less control over the what and how in conducting moral education. This, according to Wang, has implications for the requirements of teachers responsible for moral education. For him, teachers are not specialists of ideological affairs. Instead, they are specialists in selecting teaching methods. They become pedagogic agents, rather than ideological agents.

### **7.13 Two Theories of Moral Education**

In this chapter, we have mainly outlined two almost parallel discourses of moral education. We use the word “almost” because we have clearly demonstrated that they have different forms of recontextualisations. When we compare the distribution of papers across table 6 and 10, we find that there are approximately seven times more traditional collectivism without pedagogic practice papers than traditional collectivism with pedagogic practice papers. However, the number of papers for traditional collectivism with pedagogic practice is more or less the

same as that of regulated individualism with pedagogic practice (twenty-seven for the former and twenty-four for the latter during the whole period). Moreover, eighteen of the twenty-two traditional collectivism without pedagogic practice papers (81.8%) appeared in the first period (1981-1984). Whereas in the case of regulated individualism without pedagogic practice papers, there is none in the same period. We can raise here the question whether it is dangerous to express regulative individualism directly in general papers even under the conditions of weaker party control. If this is to be the case, we might expect regulated individualism to appear in a more embedded form, i.e. expressed through discussions of pedagogic practice. We can attempt a test of the proposal by relating the distribution of ideologically biased paper to the distribution of all ideologically related papers. If we are right then we should find a number of regulated individualism biased pedagogic practice paper across all the different periods.

The comparison necessary to test our proposition is complex and it has been difficult to find a simple and clear method of contrasting the relevant tables. What we have done is:

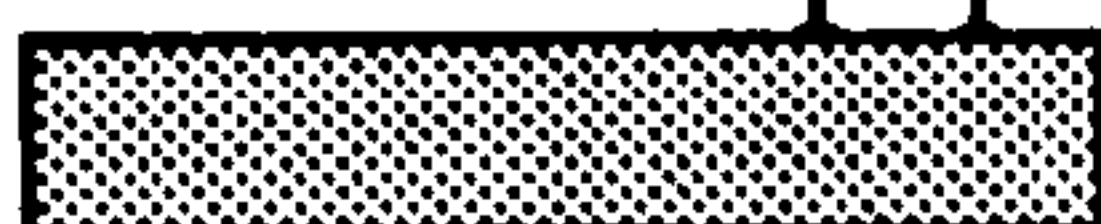
- (1) produce separate tables for traditional collectivism (Block A) and for regulated individualism (Block B) for each of our three periods, 1981-1984, 1985-1989, 1989-1993.
- (2) In each block, we show the number of papers for each year for
  - ideological orientation without pedagogic practice;
  - ideological orientation with pedagogic practice; and
  - ideological orientation biased pedagogic practice.(see Table 7.14)



Table 7.14    The Distribution of Papers in TC and RI related papers between 1981 and 1993

| Traditional Collectivism |                | Regulated Individualism |                  |
|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| A                        |                | B                       |                  |
| 1                        |                | TC related papers       |                  |
|                          |                | TC                      | TC (PP)          |
|                          |                |                         | TC biase<br>d PP |
|                          | 1981           | 2                       | 6                |
|                          | 1982           | 8                       | 6                |
|                          | 1983           | 2                       | 2                |
| 2                        | 1984           | 6                       | 4                |
|                          | Sub-<br>total  | 18                      | 18               |
|                          |                | RI related papers       |                  |
|                          |                | RI                      | RI (PP)          |
|                          |                |                         | RI biased<br>PP  |
|                          | 1981           | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | 1982           | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | 1983           | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | 1984           | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | Sub-<br>total  | 0                       | 0                |
| 3                        | 1985           | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | 1986           | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | 1987           | 0                       | 2                |
|                          | 1988           | 0                       | 1                |
|                          | Jan-Jun,<br>89 | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | Sub-<br>total  | 0                       | 3                |
| 4                        | 1985           | 0                       | 5                |
|                          | 1986           | 0                       | 1                |
|                          | 1987           | 1                       | 2                |
|                          | 1988           | 1                       | 8                |
|                          | Jan-Jun,<br>89 | 0                       | 4                |
|                          | Sub-<br>total  | 2                       | 20               |
| 5                        | Jul-Dec,<br>89 | 2                       | 1                |
|                          | 1990           | 1                       | 1                |
|                          | 1991           | 1                       | 1                |
|                          | 1992           | 0                       | 1                |
|                          | 1993           | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | Sub-<br>total  | 4                       | 4                |
| 6                        | TOTAL          | 8                       | 25               |
|                          |                | RI related papers       |                  |
|                          |                | RI                      | RI (PP)          |
|                          |                |                         | RI biased<br>PP  |
|                          | Jul-Dec,<br>89 | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | 1990           | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | 1991           | 1                       | 1                |
|                          | 1992           | 0                       | 0                |
|                          | 1993           | 0                       | 3                |
|                          | Sub-<br>total  | 1                       | 4                |
|                          | TOTAL          | 2                       | 24               |
|                          |                |                         | 34               |

TC: traditional collectivism papers  
 TC (PP): traditional collectivism with pedagogic practice papers  
 TC biased PP: pedagogic practice without explicit ideological orientation  
 (traditional collectivism biased) papers  
 TC related papers: TC, TC(PP) and PP(TC biased) papers  
 RI: regulated individualism papers  
 RI(PP): regulated individualism with pedagogic practice papers  
 RI biased PP: pedagogic practice without explicit ideological orientation  
 (regulated individualism biased) papers  
 RI related papers: RI, RI(PP) and PP(RI biased) papers

 The year of restricted ideological orientation as announced in the editorials

First, if we add up all the TC related papers (A blocks 1, 2 and 3) we find a total of seventy-eight papers with fifty-four being in the first period 1981 – 1984 (block 1A).

Second, it is clear that in the second and third period (block 2A and 3A) there are very few traditional collectivism papers devoted only to ideology. In these two periods, traditional collectivism reveals itself through pedagogic practice papers (both traditional collectivism with pedagogic practice papers and pedagogic practice but traditional collectivism biased paper). Furthermore, 62.9% of all traditional collectivism biased paper are to be found in the first period 1981 – 1984.

Third, as we noted before there are only three regulated



individualism without pedagogic practice papers across the whole period. There are nine regulated individualism biased pedagogic practice papers in the first period but no regulated individualism paper devoted wholly to ideology (block 1B). In the second phase, there are two and a half times more regulated individualism with pedagogic practice paper than regulated individualism biased papers (block 2B) but in the third period this relation is reversed for here there are four times more regulated individualism biased paper than only pedagogic practice papers. (Block 3B)

There is no need to discuss the dominance of traditional collectivism in the first period as it was discussed elsewhere in this thesis. We have also discussed the low incidence of regulated individualism papers devoted solely to ideology. However, what has been revealed in this analysis is that there are nine PP (RI biased) papers and no papers devoted solely to regulated individualism in the first period. A possible explanation that in the first period, despite the dominance of traditional collectivism, there was latent regulated individualism positions which could not be explicitly expressed and appeared in a disguised form. In



the second period, which we have demonstrated as a period of elaborated ideological orientation marked by the editors, there was a marked shift away from biased pedagogic practice papers to the more direct form of RI(PP) papers. It is also in the second period that papers devoted solely to regulated individualism appeared (1987 and 1988). In the third period, following the Tiananmen Incident, regulated individualism papers reverted back to their biased realisation. Perhaps the shift between the periods gives some plausibility to our initial explanation of the appearance of the only regulated individualism papers in the first period were the PP (RI biased) papers.

It is thus clear that the construction of regulated individualism is through discussing forms of pedagogy and its ideological implication. Hence, its discursive source is based upon constructing a symbolic boundary between an individual and the collectivity to which the individual belongs. In the case of traditional collectivism, the individual is defined with reference to the collectivity and hence the homogeneity of individuals within the collectivity is emphasised. Thus, the concern is always about

the willingness of individual to submit himself/herself to the collectivity. In the case of regulated individualism, there is an emphasis of the discursive space occupied by individual and hence the heterogeneity between individuals is emphasised. Two theories for moral education are entailed in two ideological orientations within the field of production of discourse. From this point of view, regulated individualism is always a latent potential of the recontextualisation field but traditional collectivism is always a possible position.

Moreover, in this chapter, we have able to identify how the two different discourses give rise to two different sets of concepts of self and methods of teaching.

In the case of traditional collectivism, self is defined solely in terms of its position within the collectivity. It hence calls for methods which emphasis the need to place the importance of collectivity over the individual needs. Thus, moral education is about the full integration of self into the collectivity. Model examples are used to illustrate the ways in which an individual

submits himself (in the case of Lei Feng) to the collective interest.

However, in the case of regulated individualism, self is given certain social recognition. Autonomy of self is recognised as an essential part of the collectivity, and now translated to a more general notion of the society. It thus calls for a form of instruction which acknowledges the heterogeneity of individuals in the process of teaching. Thus, organisation of teaching thus has to be based on factors like the age range of students and to choose the methods that are appropriate to the context of teaching.

## **7.14 Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have studied the moral education papers in great details. We argue that there are two discourses on moral education, each of which has its own forms of recontextualisation. We have also pointed out that the emergence of regulated individualism is not on the basis of rejecting traditional collectivism. While it is true that more papers written on the basis of regulated individualism means less papers on the basis of traditional collectivism, we have demonstrated that these two



ideological positions have their own forms of recontextualisations, which in turn leads to different theories and concepts in moral education.

We shall now move to the final chapter for our conclusion of this thesis.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Conclusion

#### 8.0 Introduction

In this thesis, we have tried to link the changes associated with the Modernisation project initiated by the CCP at the end of the 70's and the changes in the regulation of the production of discourse by the State. Based on the theory of pedagogic device developed by Bernstein, this thesis argues that the “open door” policy in China necessitates fundamental changes in the dominant principles of ruling ideology in China which, this thesis argues, leads to changes in the division of labour in the field of intellectuals in education and changes in the regulation of the production of discourse by the State. This hypothesis is then explored by a study of the journal, *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* and in particular through a group of papers on moral education published between 1978 and 1993.

Our study is essentially a historical study of the period 1978 - 1993 as this was a crucial period of change and conflict. Ideally

the thesis should have been presented in mid 90's but through circumstances beyond the control of the writer, this proved not to be possible. The pace of change since mid 90's has accelerated in China but it has not been possible to incorporate the consequences in the thesis except for a somewhat impressionist account of the focus of papers and discourses now currently in the journal. In the light of the present context, our study is on the transition from traditional collectivism to regulate individualism and then to further weaken regulation.

In this chapter, first of all, we shall review basic research methodological issues. Then we shall discuss the findings as presented in previous chapters of this thesis, their implications and directions for further research.

## **8.1 Methodological Difficulties of the Research**

In this section, we shall only highlight what we see as the major methodological difficulties in this research. A full discussion has already been made in Chapter four.



In this research, the basic methodological issue arises out of the fact that the research was planned at the beginning of the 90's, to be exact, right after the 1989 Tiananmen bloodshed and hence any empirical study that requires the fieldwork to take place in China is not practical. This imperfect situation led us to choose a field of study, which, on one hand, would enable us to detect ideological changes in regulating education and yet, on the other hand, would constitute a major site for intellectual practices. Hence we chose to examine the most important education journal in China and then we focused on a domain of discourse, which is acutely sensitive to the ideological debates of moral education in China. This, however, creates a series of problem in our research.

First, as discussed in chapter four, the choice to focus on moral education means that only one domain of the discourse of education could be examined in this research. Thus, the presence/absence of forms and content of ideological emphasis in other discourses are not considered. Our view is that changes in the form of symbolic control will more likely be reflected in the discourse of moral education. In chapter four, we demonstrate

that moral education has been a crucial concern of the Chinese Government since early 80's. Thus we believe that we have good grounds for the choice of study with respect to the hypothesis explored in the research. Furthermore, we have also shown that moral education is the third largest group of contributions in Jiaoyu Yanjiu [80].

Second, we do not know exactly the process whereby papers are selected and edited for publication in the journal. Moreover, we do not know how the editorial board of the journal is constituted. Our interview (section 4.1 in chapter four) with a former editor at the initial periods of this research suggest that half of the editorial board members, at the time of interview, i.e. late eighties, were former journalists and others came from various sectors of education. Apart from this, we know little about the editorial board.

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80      Perhaps another possible choice of discourse might have been economics. Here we could examine journals devoted to economics. In journals of economics, given the historical specific conditions of the Chinese modernisation programme, there would have been little attention paid to changes in forms of

Third, we do not know the editorial mechanism through which state ideological issues are translated into various forms of editorial practices in the journal. For example, we have illustrated in chapter five that, for the journal to be the mediator between the State and journal contributors, the editorials published in the eighties reflected the ideological conflicts between traditional collectivism and regulated individualism within the Party. However, it is obvious that potential journal contributors did not rely upon the journal editorials to understand the state of affairs in ideological conflicts. They knew where to pick up these messages. Although the editors abandoned publishing editorials after 1989, the editorials were still very useful for this research.

Four, we do not know what types of papers are rejected and the grounds for their rejection. The knowledge of rejection and the grounds would be of considerable importance in understanding the regulatory process of the journal editors. We are only able to analyse what has been accepted as the officially permitted discourse of moral education, eventually published by the journal

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symbolic control, the major focus of this study.



between 1980 and 1993.

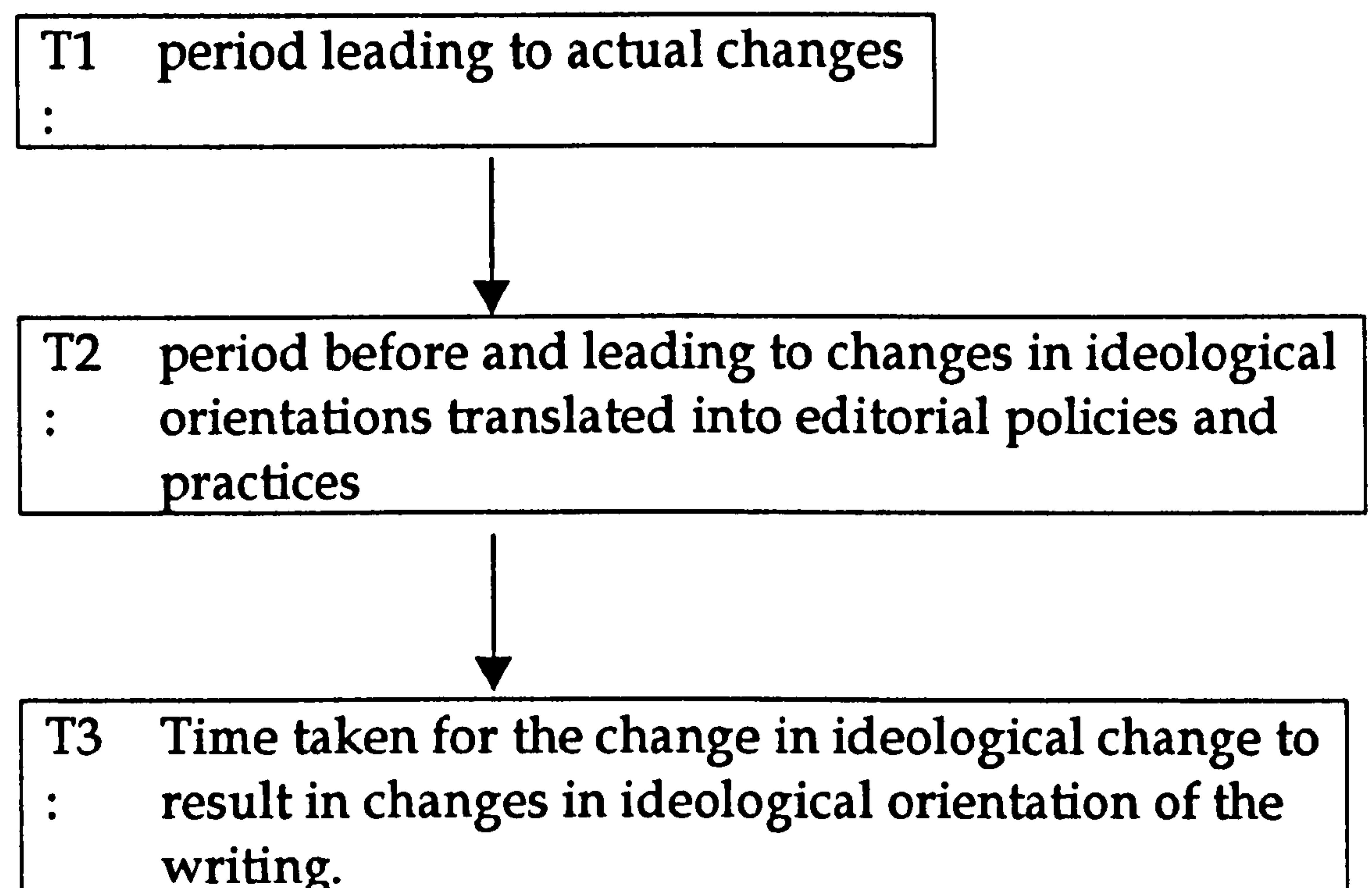
Five, there is a crucial conceptual issue arose out of the problem of establishing the basic periods on which the whole research depends. It is essential to identify shifts of ideological orientations in papers on moral education. The shifts in ideological orientation form the basis of the division into periods. In this research, the divisions into different periods of ideological orientations found in the journal are related to changes in ideological positions in the Party. This raises two methodological issues.

- (1) How reliable is our identification of the ideological orientations on the papers on moral education?
- (2) How valid is the relation between the identification of shift in ideological orientation and shifts in the ideological positions of the Party.

In the first case, i.e. the identification of ideological orientation of the papers, an independent assessor was given the

categories whereby we identified the orientations and was asked to apply them to analyse a group of randomly selected editorials and papers (30% of editorials and 10% of all papers). The independent report indicates that the agreement rate is 100% for the editorials and 80% for the papers. We regard this percentage as high enough for us to say that the classificatory framework we have used in this research is valid.

In the second case, the shift in the ideological orientation can be identified essentially through the documents, conferences, resolutions and speeches made public by the Party itself. This is not to say that there are no other signs of change that precede it with public statements. However the public statements are official sources of change and conflicts. These changes are, we believe with good grounds, responsible for editorial policies of the journal and the consequences of the journal in relation to the State. However, there is time lag in the sequencing of events. Let us consider the following simplified flowchart of events:



In the above diagram, T1 represents the time leading to actual change in the ideological positions of the State. However, it takes another period of time (T2) for changes in ideological positions from the State to be translated into editorial policies and practices. It then takes another period of time (T3) for the dominant ideological positions to be reflected in the writings. Moreover, T1, T2 and T3 are not linear in the sense of one leading to another. We have explained in previous chapters that potential authors do not necessarily rely upon the editorials to understand the dominant ideological positions held by the State.

The reality can be more complicated. The editors published



their editorial in January every year between 1979 and 1989. These editorials were supposed to relay what the editors believed to be the ideological position held by the State at that time. However, there is a gap of one whole year between the publications of two editorials. Thus when an editorial is released to reflect one ideological position, events in the next few months might render the editorials not suitable anymore. One such situation is 1989. In chapter four, our analysis of the editorials shows that the 1989 editorial is the most critical editorials the editors have ever published. It means that the State at that time was more ready to tolerate critical views but in June 1989, the democracy movement was crushed by the State. The editors never published any more editorials.

This raises a difficult issue. What we have is really the outcome in time with respect to the editorial and the outcome in time with respect to the papers. The only way this problem could have been solved is through interviewing major actors of the whole process. As we have indicated earlier, this would not have been possible at the time.

Six, the evidence that we have offered in the thesis consists of translations of Party documents, speeches, resolutions and translations of relevant sections of moral education papers. Clearly the quality of translation is important for the English readers. These translations have difficulties that are peculiar to them. The language of the Party is a specialised language. Whether it refers to its political theories, or whether it refers to dissidents, in particular to Western influence, without the knowledge of different positioning and recontextualising of Marxist, Leninist and Maoist, the nuances and subtleties of the language is difficult to grasp unless one is privy to the code. I have given the original Chinese for every translation I have made in this thesis in the appendix 1.

## **8.2 Basic Findings and Arguments**

Following the theory of pedagogic device, our first task is to identify the general changes in the dominant principle of the Chinese State. We suggest in this thesis that there existed three dominant principles in the course of contemporary China history (1949 – 1993). These three dominant principles in turn generate

three versions of socialism, which in turn govern the general logic of symbolic control in any period of time.

The three discourses of socialism we have identified are traditional collectivism (1949 - 1966), radical collectivism (1967 - 1978) and regulated individualism (1979 - 1993) respectively. In chapter two, we gave an outline of the emergence and decline of each discourse and how they functioned to generate their own pedagogic discourses.

We consider that each of the three discourses of socialism generates their own developmental path of Chinese socialism. Based on these ideological formulations, the Chinese Community Party identifies what is most important in their course of development and the ways to achieve these developmental objectives as well as the sources of opposition. In this research, we consider that the crucial feature of the Post Cultural Revolution is that the control of the State over the production of discourse has shifted from control over the principle of the production of discourse to the management of its production. In this thesis, this



change in the form of symbolic control is explored in two empirical studies. The first one is a study of the editorials of the journal published between 1980 and 1989. The result of the analysis was presented in chapter five. The second one is through analysing the papers published by the journal between 1980 and 1993. The result of this analysis was presented in chapter six and seven.

### **8.2.1 The Regulatory Functions of the Editorials**

We start by the hypothesis that the change in the dominant principles of the State's ruling ideology has necessitated the development of the production of discourses in education, that is a more complex division of labour within the intellectual field of education. This hypothesis is then tested by an examination of all papers published by the journal between 1978 and 1993. We show that, during these years, there was a systematic growth of sites within the discourse of education, showing a growing diversity in the division of labour of the discourses of education. However, it is worth pointing out that the categories adopted by the journal for the index of this growing division of labour include ideological

issues, educational and developmental issues that concern the editors and authors and fields of studies that are akin to those in the West.

We shall now proceed to discuss major findings presented in chapter five. We consider that the journal editors are both the new regulators and initiators of intellectual practices in the new Modernisation project. Conflicts inherent in the Modernisation project would undoubtedly affect the ways in which the new State ideology is to be regulated. We propose a model in chapter five to help us to select relevant elements from the editorials to show the ways in which the editorial board formulate its forms of symbolic control.

In the model, the new forms of symbolic control were analysed in terms of two levels: distributive principles and recontextualising principles. We propose that distributive principles generate two forms of ideological orientation and the recontextualising principles generate the regulative discourse for the emerging discourse of education.

We shall now summarise the findings at the level of distributive rules.

We are able to extract and analyse the restrictive and elaborated ideological orientations embedded in the editorials by analysing the references made in the editorials and compare the periods with changes in ideological orientation of the Party and State:

The following table gives the findings:

Figure 8.1     Ideological Orientation Inferred from the Editorials between 1979 and 1989

|    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
|    | 1979 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 |
| IO | EIO  | EIO  | RIO  | EIO  | RIO  | EIO  | EIO  | EIO  | EIO  | EIO  |

IO = Ideological Orientation  
RIO = Restricted Ideological Orientation  
EIO = Elaborated Ideological Orientation

We infer from the editorials that the period between 1981 and 1984 is crucial in terms of the ideological regulations exercised by the editors because the editorials were relaying the ideological conflicts in the State. After 1985, the language used in the



editorials was directed towards elaborated ideological orientation. We also hypothesise that elaborated ideological orientation is the basic condition for a more autonomous discourse of education. It relays the new official ideological of regulated individualism, a concept we did not introduced until chapter six.

The second analysis in chapter five is at the level of the editors' recontextualisation principles as reflected in the editorials. We infer from the analysis that the regulative discourse is realised through two issues in the editorials: (1) nature of intellectual practices and (2) the definitions of actors in the field.

We shall discuss the nature of intellectual practices first. In essence, this refers to the relation between theory and practice as postulated in the editorials. We demonstrate that the discussions made by the editors can also be understood in terms of two phases. In phase one (1979-1985), we have shown a constant shift between restricted ideological orientation and elaborated ideological orientation. Nonetheless, the editors tend to place more emphasis on practice, rather than theory. But when theory issues are

discussed in the editorials, it is always discussed in terms of Marxist, Leninist and Maoist positions. As reported in chapter five, from the point of view of the editors, the regulatory function of the Marxist, Leninist and Maoist theory on educational practices is to be weakened. For the potential authors who are to submit papers for reviewing, the implicit message is that it is safer for the new discursive space to be created only within the arena of educational practice. In phase two (1986- 1989), when the educational reform is now legitimated by Deng's appeal [81], development in the theory discourse can now be developed in terms of the educational reform. Thus the editors called for more contributions to understand and discuss educational practice during the reform at a more theoretical level.

We shall now move to discuss the definitions of actors in the field as addressed in the editorials. This time the change made by the editors was subtler. In the earlier editorials, we discovered that the editors tended to address a large group of audience,

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81 "Education has to face modernization, the world and future." Further discussion can be found in chapter 5, pg.18.

including what they called education theory workers and education practitioners. Towards the end of the period, education theory workers were now distinguished and seen as the major agents for intellectual practices in the developing field of education.

### **8.2.2 The Analysis of the Discourse on Moral Education**

We shall now discuss major findings of the analysis of the discourse on moral education. Because of its complexity, the analysis is divided into two chapters. Chapter six is an analysis of the general development of the discourse on moral education as realised in the papers on moral education during the years of the research. Chapter seven presents the analysis of the content of the discourse itself.

In chapter six, we analyse the following: (1) the institutional affiliation of the authors; (2) whether or not the papers contain citations? If so, where are the sources of citations; (3) and the relationship between (1) and (2).



We discovered that, over the years and on the whole, there are more and more journal papers authored by academics (on average 61.7% over the years, Table 6.3, page 123). However, compared with the West, there is also a relatively higher participation rate for teachers and school administrators as well as cadres (on average 17.6%, Table 6.3, page 123). We also discovered that, towards the end of our research period, there are fewer and fewer publications from authors affiliated to party organisations.

In the analysis of the editorials, we point out that the editors declare that the journal should be a dialogue between educational theories and practices. It seems that this is the case, though the theories were speaking with louder voice.

We then proceed to analyse the sources of citations in all the papers. The original expectation was that the further development of the field of education, the greater the number of citations from various sources and perhaps more citations from pedagogic sources, rather than ideological sources.

We distinguish citations in terms of pedagogic and ideological sources. A detailed description is given in section 6.6.1. In essence, ideological sources refer to citations from important political figures, party documents and resolutions whereas pedagogic sources refer to citations from what the West traditionally regard as academic sources.

We find out that it is not the case that there are more papers quoting pedagogic citations than ideological citations. However, there is significantly higher frequency of pedagogic citations than ideological citations (Table 6.7, page 130). Nonetheless, pedagogic citations are in no way replacing ideological citations.

We then proceed to another level of analysis to examine who quoted what in the papers. We discover that academics (referred as IET agents in chapter six), teachers and school heads (referred as IEI agents in chapter six) use more pedagogic citations than ideological citations whereas Party agents (referred as IEP agents) used more ideological citations than pedagogic citations (Table 6.8, page 132). Thus the hypothesis that the development

of discourse on moral education would be associated with a growing replacement of ideological citations by pedagogic citations does not hold true in this case. Nonetheless, we show that the active producers of the discourse on moral education do come from academic institutions.

### 8.2.3 Analysing the Discourse of Moral Education

We shall now proceed to report the major hypotheses and the findings in analysing the content of the discourse of moral education.

We give a brief description of the format of the moral education papers published in the journal. On the whole, they were different from the usual academic journal papers in the West. They were usually shorter than any academic papers commonly found in the West. The papers published ranged from policy commentaries, ideological critique, and reports on projects, initiatives and surveys, to educational theories.

We distinguish two major dimensions to analyse the



contents of the papers: ideological orientation (traditional collectivism or regulated individualism) and/or pedagogic practice.

In this way, the papers are classified in one of the following categories:

- (1) ideological orientation (traditional collectivism or regulated individualism) only
- (2) ideological orientation (traditional collectivism or regulated individualism) with explicit pedagogic practice
- (3) pedagogic practice without explicit ideological orientation

### **8.2.3.1 Ideological Orientations of the Moral Education Papers**

In earlier chapters, we have hypothesised that the ideological orientation of a paper (traditional collectivism or restricted individualism) would be associated with the ideological orientations of that time. It thus follows that in that chapter, we hypothesise that a restrictive ideological orientation of the editors

will give rise to traditional collectivism position of the papers whilst elaborated ideological orientation will give rise to regulated individualism of a paper. We consider that there will be a general movement from restrictive ideological orientation to elaborated ideological orientation.

Bearing in mind that 1985 and 1989 were two important years during the period of our research, we found that the patterns of change of distribution of papers from traditional collectivism to regulated individualism in the above three categories were more or less the same.

In the case of ideological orientation only papers, we find out that before 1985, all ideological orientation papers (18 papers, 72% of all ideological orientation papers) were based upon traditional collectivism. From 1985 to June 1989, when the Tiananmen crackdown on democracy movement happened, there were only two ideological orientation papers, both based upon regulated individualism. After June 1989, there were five ideological orientation papers, four of which are based on

traditional collectivism and one on regulated individualism.

Our hypothesis that different editorial policies give rise to different ideological orientation papers is also confirmed. In 1982 and 1984, identified as the year of restrictive ideological orientation, fourteen papers were published in these two years. All papers were mediating traditional collectivism and none regulated individualism. On the other hand, during the years which we have identified as elaborated ideological orientation (1981, 1983, 1985-1989) only two papers were published. This time these two papers mediated regulated individualism.

We also observe that there is a long-term decline in the importance of ideological orientation papers over the years. 72% of all ideological orientation papers were published between the years 1981 and 1984. Moreover, there were no ideological orientation papers published since 1992. We thus conclude by suggesting the debate on ideology appears to have moved from foreground to background.



### **8.2.3.2 Ideological Orientation with Pedagogic Practice Papers**

The pattern we identified above was repeated. In the first period (between 1981 and 1984), there were eighteen papers on traditional collectivism with pedagogic practice [TC (PP)] but none on regulated individualism with pedagogic practice [RI (PP)] papers. The dominance of TC (PP) was reversed in the second period (between 1985 and June 1989). Now there were twenty papers on RI (PP), but there were only five papers on TC (PP). Again, June 1989 was the demarcation month. Between July 1989 and 1993, although there were four papers each on both TC (PP) and RI (PP), most papers on TC (PP) were published in the first half of the period and most papers on RI (PP) were published in the second half of the period.

Our hypothesis that restrictive ideological orientation in the editorial would translate into traditional collectivism in the papers whereas elaborated ideological orientation would translate into regulated individualism in the papers is partly true in this category of papers. In 1982 and 1984 (years of restrictive

ideological orientation), there were 10 papers on TC (PP) but there were also eleven TC (PP) papers published during the years of elaborated ideological orientation. However, a total of twenty RI (PP) papers were published between 1985 and June 1989. Thus restrictive ideological orientation in the editorial was more easily translated into traditional collectivism papers whilst elaborated ideological orientation did not necessarily translated into regulated individualism papers.

Further, we find that most TC (PP) papers are concerned with specific forms of pedagogic practice, while most RI (PP) are concerned with general issues of pedagogic practice. Our analysis suggested most TC (PP) were concerned with applying the ideological orientation to various aspects of the pedagogic practice of moral education while most RI (PP) papers were mainly concerned with the theoretical aspects of the pedagogic project. Thus, in the latter case, the authors were more concerned with creating and exploring the nature and the intrinsic property of the pedagogic space generated by regulated individualism. It seemed that the link between regulated individualism and specific

pedagogic practices had to be worked out at a general level whereas in the case of TC (PP), such relationship can be taken for granted and hence the concern was either to relay an ideological position or to recontextualise the ideological position into forms of pedagogic practice. But in RI (PP), the authors were constructing their own educational ideology within the ideological parameters permitted by the State.

### **8.2.3.3 Pedagogic Practice without Explicit Ideological Practice**

Although these papers do not make explicit reference to any ideological statements, it is possible for us to examine whether or not a paper is embedded in or privileging any particular form of ideological expression. We devised a method to determine whether any paper acts as an implicit voice of an ideological orientation. Our analysis showed that between 1981 and 1985, there were more TC biased papers than RI biased papers but between 1986 and June 1989, there were more RI biased papers than TC biased papers. After July 1989, until 1993, there were more RI biased papers.



After considering the three categories of paper, it seems reasonable to conclude that there has been two parallel discourses of moral education. They are parallel because both are regarded as legitimate discourses of moral education. Our analysis of the content of the papers shows that the emergence of regulated individualism is not based upon an ideological critique of traditional collectivism, but is an alternative ideological position, which is often more implicit than explicit in the papers. Thus there are far more papers on regulated individualism with pedagogic practice than papers on regulated individualism only. In other words, regulated individualism is always discussed in terms of its own recontextualisation into pedagogic practice whereas traditional collectivism can always be discussed in terms of its own ideological position.

Our analysis of the moral education papers suggested that the two ideological positions, namely, traditional collectivism and regulated individualism gave rise to two different specialised discourses of moral education. These give rise to different

concepts of self and concepts of instruction.

### **8.3 Implications of Research Findings**

In this section, we shall outline what we see as the implications of our research findings and possible directions of future research.

In the beginning of this chapter, we stated that the empirical study was completed in 1993 but the thesis was not submitted until 2000. This raises an important issue concerning the ideological conditions in China after 1993. In this research, we conclude that during the 80's, greater intellectual autonomy was required for the new relations between education and production but on the other hand, the CCP regarded this autonomy as a potential site where the fundamental political and ideological order could be challenged. More importantly, as we have demonstrated in earlier chapters of this thesis, the whole of 80's saw the ideo-political battle between traditional collectivism and regulated individualism within the Chinese political establishment. For example, civil right campaigners like Wei Jinsheng, classified

as critical intellectuals by Goldman (1992) made use of the new ideological autonomy to petition for a much more fundamental rethink of the political order in China. There was thus an interesting but perhaps ironic "ecological balance of ideology" in the Chinese society during the 80's. Regulated individualism had to be brought to the foreground to open up an intellectual space but the space was not to be misused by "untamed social forces".

The ideological parameters in China moved to a totally different position after the Tiananmen massacre as virtually all dissidents were now either in exile outside China or sent to the prison. In a way, after 1989, with the disappearance of critical intellectuals on the Chinese soil, there was an immediate absence of ideological debate in the wider society. The absence of popular ideological voice in the wider society also means that the very act of regulatory function can now be made more implicit, or to be put as the backdrop. And the opening up of intellectual space can now be more explicit. Perhaps the irony is that the aftermath of the crash of democratic and freedom movement in 1989 is for the Chinese State to speed up its economic reform and a genuine



attempt to launch administrative reform of the State machinery.

This raises a more fundamental question about regulated individualism: to what extent this is a transitional modality of control. There are now clear signs that the movement is towards even more unregulated forms of individualism. Further economic reform in China means that the economy is moving towards a further complex division of labour. The state-planned economy has almost completed its transformation. The level of production by the private sector had now already exceeded that of the public sector. The current Chinese Premier Zhu Rongqi is embarking upon a major programme to raise the productivity of Chinese State enterprise by making policy of massive redundancy. The same process is also going on within Government administration.

On the other hand, since the mid- 90's, China abandoned the allocation of jobs for university graduates. Competition is becoming a feature of life for universities and graduates. Thus, the socialist worker identity, traditionally derived from a collectivity,

and is more frequently called a *danwei* [82], is now undergoing radical transformation. The workers' traditional role as the labour aristocrats of Chinese socialism (Walder, 1986) is being systematically eroded. New practices like wage reforms, the labour contract system, and the introduction of a social security system means that state workers no longer enjoy a lifelong entitlement to employment and hence welfare benefits but as they work under a market-oriented contract (Lee, 1998). Indeed, the notion of *danwei* is becoming more and more irrelevant to individuals' lives.

Furthermore, there are more and more individuals working in the private units of production. In other words, individuals are more active than before in the field of economics. They are

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82 Traditionally, *danwei* is the organisational realisation of the relationship between individual and the collectivity. It does not only regulate the ways in which individuals participate in the process of production, it also regulates arrangement of individual's welfare, housing, health, pension and the education of their children. Most importantly, the personal dossiers (*geren dangan*) of all individuals are kept by the *danwei*. In other words, *danwei* is the concrete realisation of the relationship between the State and individuals. Individuals function and take part in social and economic activities through the mediation of *danwei*. In return, the State takes care of individuals through *danwei* (Choi,

economic individuals, rather than social individuals working in collectivities organised by the State. This points to a more complex division of labour. Indeed, This is a movement towards perhaps what we can call tentatively here socialist organic solidarity, from the socialist mechanical solidarity [83]. This involves a radical transformation of the conscience collective previously expressed in terms of socialist ideology and which took the form of radical collectivism. In this research, we consider that the transformation of conscience collective is achieved through the emergence of regulated individualism. This calls into the question the changing role of the Chinese State in the regulation of symbolic control in the "new age".

If we now consider future research this has to be placed in the context we have briefly sketched above. We shall clearly have to restrict our discussion to research issues arising out of the specifics of our research.

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1997:284).

83 Indeed, one may argue whether China is still a socialist country any more.



First, it would be important to carry out research which we were unable to initiate in the thesis. It would now be possible to interview members of the present editorial board about its constitution, appointment procedures, editorial role, policy and relations to the State. How the board sees its role in the Modernisation project? Would the developing division of discursive Labour in education lead to the marketing of new journals and, if so, what would be the consequences for the State Journal? In the eighties, the journal announced its editorial policies through the editorials. The papers they published in the journal were more or less selected on the basis of the announced editorial policies. However, the editors abandoned publishing editorials after 1989. Thus it would be difficult for us to compare the editorial stance and the papers they published after 1989. The issue that is of interest is the extent to which the journal could play in the mediation role as ideological conflict after 1989 almost disappeared and the Chinese State was even more determined to speed up the Modernisation programme. It may well be the case that the journal would move closer to the intellectual field, rather than to the State machinery. Further marketisation of the

publication industry in China would perhaps force the journal to compete with other journals. Hence the journal editors would be concerned more with their own subscription number, as well as the prestige as the most influential journal on education in China, rather than as a State organ.

Second, it would be important to compare the views of both academics and practitioners at the level of the school with those now held by the editorial board. How do these in different positions in the educational field see developments of this field and constraints on this development? How fragile is this new autonomy? From the point of view of the theory of pedagogic device, whatever advocated in the intellectual discourse of moral education does not necessary translated directly into relevant forms of pedagogic practice. What we have demonstrated in this thesis is at best the emergence of relatively more autonomous pedagogic discourse of moral education. We need to examine its relationship with relevant official pedagogic discourse and the ways in which this new pedagogic discourse being recontextualised in various local contexts. Furthermore, the

recent suppression of the new cult Fareng Gong shows that the limitation the State is prepared to offer to religious freedom.

Third, given the loosening of the State's ideological regulation of the field of symbolic field it may be even more relevant to study the future of the discourse of moral education and its practice in the formation of civic and national consciousness. What will now be the meaning of Spiritual Civilisation under the new principles of organisation of the economic field and the privileging of its new values, responsibilities, initiatives and practices?

Fourth, to what extent will the new space for autonomy of agencies in education change the form of the State's regulation of these agencies and agents from ideological to forms of management similar to the British experience along the lines of accountability, efficiency and assessment, or in the words of Cowen, performativity (Cowen, 96).



## 8.4 Conclusion

Based on the theory of pedagogic device developed by Bernstein, we have attempted to outline, in a very specific context, the changes in the field of symbolic control when China launched its own Modernisation programme. In this thesis, we argue that, in the era of Post-Cultural Revolution, the control of the State over the production of discourse has shifted from that over the principles of the production of theories to the management of their production. This shift, however, is realised in terms of one ideological position, namely, regulated individualism, being accepted as a legitimate ideological position, so that an alternative set of strategy can be constructed for the Chinese modernisation. The old ideological position, named as traditional collectivism, however, is not discarded and yet on the other hand, there is contradiction between these two ideological positions at a deeper level. There is always a danger for the new ideological position to be “misused” as the discursive source to challenge the social and political order of the Chinese society. Hence, the acceptance of this new ideological position is always conditional and not on its own right. Nonetheless, regulated individualism does become a

legitimate source for its own recontextualisation.

The detailed study of the moral education papers in the journal is to examine the educational consequence of this newly accepted ideological position. The 1989 democratic movement in China has actually demonstrated the ideological boundaries of this new position of regulated individualism and the resumption of traditional collectivism once when the boundary is deemed to have crossed. Nonetheless, regulated individualism resumes once when the State recovers from the aftermath of the 1989 movement.

This specific way in which regulated individualism emerges has to be understood in terms of the nature of the current Chinese State, which is still a one-Party State. Ideological struggle thus is not dealt with in the form usually called Western democracy. Yet on the other hand, if compare how Mao introduced radical collectivism to the Chinese society during the Cultural Revolution with the acceptance of regulated individualism, we can have a very good idea of the progress the Chinese society has made in the last twenty years. And this is what has inspired the study of this

process, which has been presented in this thesis.



## Postscript

### Introduction

In this section, we shall present an overview of papers on moral education published by Jiaoyu Yanjiu in 1997 and 1998. The empirical analysis of this study covers journal papers published between the years from 1980 to 1993. In previous chapters, we had already explained that the study was intended to cover the 80's, when the Chinese State and the society were more hesitant about the extent to which the Chinese society should be opened to the outside world, as well as its consequences. For example, we explained that, during the 80's, the critical intellectuals made use of the opportunity created by the open door policy to campaign for a freer and more democratic society. On the other hand, the "conservatives" of the Party worried that the liberalisation of the field of economics would lead to the erosion of socialist ideology and therefore advocated containing the liberalisation within the field of economics only. Thus during the 80's, the Party had been finding the right balance in this ideological spectrum.

Paradoxically, the balance did not just rest on just one position for

an extended period of time and hence the outside world had an impression that the dominant ideological position of the Party zig zag from one end to another. In this thesis, we have demonstrated how it affected the production of discourses on moral education.

It thus seems appropriate for us to give an overview of the papers published on moral education at the end of the 90's. Below we shall first of all give a general description of the papers.

In the years of 1998 and 1999, moral education is still a relatively important concern in the journal, as a total of ten papers were published by the journal in these two years. However, its importance has become relatively lessened, as the journal published a total of 386 articles. This is partly due to the fact that the journal is publishing less and less papers on more and more topics. In these two years, the editors classified all the papers under more than 30 categories. These categories are not only organised in terms of established sub-fields of education (e.g. philosophy of education, comparative education, sociology of

education, curriculum studies), but also contemporary educational issues like lifelong education and new educational initiatives columns. It is clear that the field has become more and more diversified.

In previous chapters, we identified different types of author affiliation. According to our analysis, authors may come from institutions specialised in educational theories, ideology or practices (IET, IEI and IEP). We have also suggested that between 1978 and 1993, the overall trend is that majority of authors come from IET but there are also a number of authors coming from IEI and IEP. In 1998 and 1999, among all the authors of the ten articles, nine come from IET and only one is a school head (IEI). Thus, it is clear that at least the discourse on moral education as seen in 1998 and 1999 are mainly constructed by academics. It is interesting that none of the authors is affiliated to party organisations. Thus, it seems that the discourse on moral education is becoming closer to an academic discourse.

If we examine citation practices in the ten papers on moral



education in 1998 and 1999, we can also notice that growing importance of academic voice in the discourse. First, unlike before 1993, when there are almost equal numbers of citation and non-citation papers, all the papers on moral education published in 1998 and 1999 are citation papers. Moreover, among all these ten papers, nine papers have more pedagogic citations than ideological citations. There is only one paper having more ideological citation than pedagogic citations. Hence, compared with the papers before, the moral education discourse in 1998 and 1999 is grounded firmly in terms of pedagogic discourse.

In previous chapters, we have suggested that there is a growing trend of pedagogisation of moral education discourse. If we turn to examine the content of the papers the papers published in these two years, this trend is becoming clearer and clearer. In all the ten papers, five papers can be classified as regulated individualism with pedagogic practice. One paper can be classified as traditional collectivism with pedagogic practice. Four papers can be classified as pedagogic practice.

All the five regulated individualism with pedagogic practice papers are concerned with outlining aspects of moral educational theory on the basis of the recognition the certain forms of individuality. For example, when discussing the issue of quality education orientation in moral education, Li suggests the need to break away from the conformist approach in traditional moral education. What is needed, according to Li, is to promote the ability of the students in self-actualisation (Li, 1999:46).

Thus, the simple conclusion that we can come to in this Postscript is that the trend for the growing importance of regulated individualism has continued and yet the voice for traditional collectivism has not disappeared.

Appendix 1

| Chap | Page | English   | Chinese  |
|------|------|---|--|
| 5    | 9    | the current task of educational research is to explore education itself and all kinds of patterns of relationship between education and economic development so that the Four Modernizations can be facilitated. On the other hand, educational research has to be modernized, so that it can catch up with the world standard in a relatively short period of time" ( <i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i> , 1/1979:13). | 當前，教育科學研究的任務十分艱巨：它既要探索教育本身的以及經濟關係的種種規律，為實現四個現代化服務；又要使教育科學研究現代化，在不太長的時間內趕上世界先進水平。 |
| 5    | 12   | has strengthened and improved ideological and political education in schools, the construction of socialist spiritual civilization and thus guarantee the success of the Four Modernizations" ( <i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i> , 1/1982:91).  | 加強和改善學校思想政治教育，建設社會主義又精神文明，保證四化建設勝利進行。  |



|   |    |  |   |
|---|----|--|---|
| 5 | 12 | <p><i>"The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China stipulated by the Central Committee of the Party has scientifically explained the historical position of Mao Zedong Thoughts and its scientific status. It also serves to adjudicate the Party's guiding principles on education. It provides us with the principles for explaining Mao Zedong Thoughts, as well as the Party's guiding principles on education. We sincerely hope that educationists and comrades who are concerned about education send in more articles in this area."</i>(<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>, 1/1982:92)</p> | <p>黨中央《關於建國以來黨的若干歷史問題的決議》科學地闡明了毛澤東思想的歷史地位和科學價值，明確地規定了黨的教育方針，使我們闡述毛澤東教育思想，闡述黨的教育方針有了準則，我們殷切地期待教育界和關心教育工作的同志們為我們撰寫这方面的文章。</p> |
| 5 | 13 | <p><i>"the need to adhere to use Marxism and the thoughts of Mao as guidance, to insist on the direction of socialism but based on the demand for constructing a high degree of civilization and democracy, as well as based on evaluating our own experience, so that we can sum up useful experience in foreign countries for building up our own socialist educational system with Chinese characteristics (<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>, 1/1983:2).</i></p>  | <p>必須堅持馬列主義，毛澤東思想的指導，堅持社會主義的方向，根據建設高度文明和高度民主的需要，在總結自己經驗的基礎上，研究吸取外國有用的經驗，逐步建立起具有中國特色的社會主義教育體系。</p>                           |

|   |    |   |   |
|---|----|---|---|
| 5 | 14 | "an important aspect of their current task is to use Marxism and Mao's thought as the guidance to explore and research on the theoretical and practical problems that are now facing our education work" ( <i>Jiaoyu Yanji.</i> , 5/1984:76). | 以馬列主義毛澤東思想為指導，深入探討和研究我們教育工作面臨的理論和實踐問題，是實現當前根本任務的一個重要環節。 |
| 5 | 14 | "make more systematic and penetrating analysis, to distinguish wrong ideas from the rights ones, to take in what is good and criticize what is wrong". ( <i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu.</i> 5/1984:76).  | 進行比較系統，深入的評論，務求分辨是非，吸收有益的東西，批評錯誤的東西。                    |
| 5 | 14 | "use the Marxist positions, perspectives and methods to conduct scientific evaluation on the experience of education and product from educational research in foreign countries" ( <i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu.</i> 5/1984:76).                          | 對於國外的教育經驗和教育研究成果，也應運用馬克思主義的立場，觀點，方法認真研究，進行科學的評價。        |



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| 5 | 16 | <p>“Educational reform now demands that education theory puts the problems facing educational reform as its first priority. This should initiate more research on the fundamental theories of education to serve educational reform better.... Based on this, Comrade Xiaopeng applies the principle of integrating Marxist general principles with the actual situation of China ... and proposes that "Education has to face modernization, the world and future". This is the guiding principle of our educational reform. The prime task now is to understand and interpret “the three faces” in a comprehensive and accurate way, to implement the strategy at every level and every kind of education in a concrete manner in order to achieve the objectives of educational reform" (<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>, 1/1985:27).</p> | <p>教育改革要求我們的教育理論工作，必須把研究教育改革所面臨的最迫切的問題放在首位，並以此帶動和促進基礎理論的研究，為教育改革服務，這是本刊當前的服務。.....首要的是教育改革的指導思想。小平同志根據馬克思主義基本原理同中國實際相結合的原則，對教育工作發表了一系列論述，最近又提出，“教育要面向現代化，面向世界，面向未來”的戰略方針。這是我們進行教育改革的指導思想。全面地，準確地理解和闡明“三個面向”，並從各級各類教育的具體實際出發加以貫徹落實，從而明確教育改革的目的是。</p> |
| 5 | 16 | <p>“our research on educational science has to provide scientific basis for the implementation of reform on educational system” (<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i> 1/1986:80)</p>  | <p>我們的教育科學研究，就要為精心組織教育體制改革的“施工”，提供理論依據。</p>   |
| 5 | 17 | <p>“theory work now is not able to lead the reform. Theory work actually fails to guide educational practice [reform, my translation]” (<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>, 1/1987:3-4)</p>   | <p>當前的問題，是理論工作沒有走在實踐的前面，即理論落後於實際，未能充分發揮指導教育實踐的作用。</p>   |



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| 5 | 17 | "the journal should face up to the actual situation of educational reform and construction, to strengthen organizing and editing of articles which we know having important implication on educational practices and theories"(Jiaoyu Yanjiu, 1/1987:4)  | 在新的一年裡，我們的刊物將以黨中央的《決定》和《決議》精神為指導，進一步貫徹理論聯繫實際的方針，面向當前教育改革和教育建設的實際，加強具有重大現實意義和長遠理論意義的研究文章的組稿和編發工作。  |
| 5 | 18 | "they shall also face the reality of educational reform and construction and encourage more articles which research on the issues with significance on the reform or important theoretical implication"(Jiaoyu Yanjiu, 1/1987:3)   | 面向當前教育改革和教育建設的實際，加強具有重大現實意義和長遠理論意義的研究文章。  |
| 5 | 19 | "In order to encourage more readers and writers to contribute their research product to education of the motherland, thus helping to push forward educational practice along the road of educational science, our journal will organize a competition of good papers this year and the next year. We welcome all papers which research on important practical and theoretical issues in the current educational reform and construction. We welcome all papers, experimental reports, investigative survey reports which explore new perspectives, adopt a certain degree of theoretical depth and are useful for guiding educational practice and theoretical research...(Jiaoyu Yanjiu, 1/1987:4). | 為了鼓勵廣大讀者，作者拿出更多更好的研究成果奉獻給祖國的教育事業，推動教育實踐在科學化的道路上前進一步，本刊將於今明兩年開展評選優秀論文活動。凡是針對當前教育改革和建設中的重大實際問題和理論問題進行研究，有新見解，有理論深度，對教育實踐，理論研究有一定的指導意義或參考價值的論文，實驗報告，調查研究報告等，我們都歡迎。 |



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| 5 | 20 | <p>“Now and for a certain period of time to come, the central task of the education frontline is to study, understand and implement the spirit of the Thirteenth Congress in order to speed up and deepen educational reform. Through educational reform, education can be more adapted to the reform of economic and political system. We can thus build up a mechanism which is lively, and also able to serve the construction of socialist modernization in a more active way. We also hope to raise entirely the quality of scientific culture and moral ideas of the workers and youths, so that there is more qualified manpower for the construction of the Four Modernization of the country”</p> <p><i>(Jiaoyu Yanjiu, 1/1988:3).</i></p> | <p>當前和今後一段時間，教育戰綫的中心任務，就是認真學習和貫徹十三大精神，加快和深化教育改革，通過改革，使教育更好地適應經濟體制改革和政治體制改革前進的步伐，建立充滿活力的，能主動為社會主義現代化建設服務的機制，全面提高青少年和勞動者的思想道德素質和科學文化素質，為國家的四化建設培養更多的合格人材。</p> |
| 5 | 24 | <p>“these include a more serious examination of the educational theory of Marx and Mao; a scientific evaluation of the Chinese experience on education; an introduction, examination and comparison of the scientific theories of education in contemporary world; the introduction and trial of research methods of modern educational science and the supplement of new branches of educational science”</p> <p><i>(Jiaoyu Yanjiu, 1/1981:72)</i></p>   | <p>這包括對馬列主義，毛澤東思想教育學說的認真學習和實事求是的研究；我們自己教育經驗，教訓的科學總結，當代世界教育科學理論的廣泛介紹，驗證與比較研究；現代教育科學研究方法的引進與試用；一個新興教育科學分枝空白的填補。</p>   |



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| 5 | 25 | <p>“There is a need to strengthen the linkage between theories and practices so that discussion of theories can serve educational reform directly, hence raising the quality of education... There is also a need for the education researchers to translate advanced theories of education and teaching into concrete and practical ways of teaching, which should then be “delivered” to the hands of the teachers” (<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>, 1/1981:72).</p>  | <p>加強理論聯繫實際，直接為實現教育的調整和改革，發展教育事業，提高教育質量服務.....。同時也要把經過綜合研究的先進的教育，教學理論，化為具體的教育，教學範例和方法送到教師手中。</p>  |
| 5 | 27 | <p>“to strengthen the research on the Marxist-Leninist educational theory and practice, which is the common task of the educational theoretician and practitioner in this new era of history. We need the fundamental theories of the thoughts of Mao Zedong and Marxists to guide the establishment of a theoretical framework of socialist education with the characteristic of our own. This framework should be steadily built up on the basis of evaluating the positive and negative experience after the founding of the PRC in 1949. There is also a need of comprehensive deepened understanding and a correct realization of the whole list of the Party's principles of educational work. This kind of research is now commencing” (<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>, 1/1983:3).</p> | <p>加強馬列主義教育理論和實踐的研究，逐步建立具有中國特色的社會主義教育體系，這是我國教育理論工作者和教育實際工作者在新的歷史時期的共同任務。我們要以馬克思主義，毛澤東思想的基本原理為指導，密切聯繫實際情況，在總結經驗，特別是建國以來正反兩方面的經驗的基礎上，逐步建立起具有我國特點的社會主義教育理論體系。同時要全面深入地理解和正確貫徹黨在教育工作上的一系列方針政策。對這方面的研究討論，現在僅僅是開始。</p> |



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| 5 | 27 | <p>“we would like to encourage more exploration of theories about the construction of socialist education and educational reform: we need to be guided by Marxist theories, to follow the Four Fundamental Principles, to insist on the ‘three faces’ and to implement the Party’s ‘double hundred principle’ so that discussion of educational theories that concern us could be centred around the theoretical issues and practical problems we meet in the course of educational reform and construction. Educational research thus should offer a theoretical basis for the implementation of educational reform” (<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>, 1/1986:80).</p> | <p>鼓勵有益於社會主義教育建設和教育改革的理論探索。我們必須以馬克思主義理論為指導，遵循四項基本原則，堅持「三個面向」，貫徹黨的「雙百方針」，以當前教育改革和建設中的重大理論問題和實際問題為中心，開展大家關心的教育理論問題的討論，鼓勵各種有益的理論探索……。我們的教育科學研究，就要為精心組織教育體制改革的「施工」，提供理論依據。</p> |
| 5 | 28 | <p>“[The editors] hope educational theory workers can insist on the principle of association between theory and practice so that their research can be firmly based on the educational practice. On this basis, they can bravely carry out experiment and explore in all directions” (<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>, 1/1987:4).</p>   | <p>我們希望教育科學工作者堅持理論聯繫實際的原則，把自己的研究工作深深根植到教育實踐這塊廣闊的沃土中，在此基礎上大膽實驗，大膽探索，努力創新，培植出累累碩果。</p>   |
| 5 | 29 | <p>“us to be with ‘you’ (the readers and the authors) together, to advocate the emancipation of thought... so that our thoughts can be liberated from the constraints imposed by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four” (<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>, 1/1979:13)</p>  | <p>本刊目前的首要任務，便是和大家一起，提倡解放思想，破除迷信，使我們的思想從林彪，「四人幫」的束縛中解放出來。</p>  |



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| 5 | 29 | " <i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i> is a journal of research on theories for the education workers ourselves" ( <i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i> , 1/1981:71)   | 《教育研究》是我們教育工作者自己的一份理論研究刊物。  |
| 5 | 29 | "the product of the joint effort of all the education workers" ( <i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i> , 1/1981:71)   | 都是廣大教育工作者共同努力的成果。   |
| 5 | 29 | old age specialist and middle-aged educational theory workers and young people who are preparing to devote themselves to education" can all contribute as much as they can to the study of education ( <i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i> , 1/1981:72) | 老專家寶刀不老，志在千里，為教育科學大立新功；我們殷切期望中年的教育理論工作者，承先啓後，勇當大任，成為發展教育科學的中流砥柱；我們更寄遠大希望於青年有志教育之士，渴望他們青出於藍勝於藍，日新月異，飛速成長，蔚成中華民族新時期的燦爛群星，使中國的教育科學早日進入世界的先進行列。 |
| 5 | 30 | "the education workers can research on education reform and new situations, experience and problems encountered" ( <i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i> , 1/1987:3)  | 教育工作者去研究教育改革和建設中的新情況，新經驗，新問題，探索教育工作的規律。   |
| 5 | 31 | "education theory worker should insist on the principle of association of theory and practice, to base deeply their research work on education practice (meaning reform)" ( <i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i> , 1/1987:4).                            | 我們希望教育科學工作者堅持理論聯繫實際的原則，把自己的研究工作深深根植到教育實踐這快廣闊的沃土中，在此基礎上大膽實驗，大膽探索，努力創新，培植出累累碩果。   |



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| 5 | 33 | <p>"We must use the Marxist theory as the guide, to follow the four fundamental principles, to insist on the "three faces", to uphold the Party's "double hundred policy" and to use the major practical and theoretical problems now facing educational reform and construction as the basis to discuss the theoretical issues that concern us (<i>Jiaoyu Yanjiu</i>, 1/1986:80).</p> | <p>我們必須以馬克思主義理論為指導，遵循四項基本原則，堅持“三個面向”，貫徹黨的“雙百方針”，以當前教育改革和建設中的重大理論問題和實際問題為中心，開展大家關心的教育理論問題的討論，鼓勵各種有益的理論探索。</p> |
| 7 | 8  | <p>"Although in recent years, humanism has been a hot issue of debate among theoreticians in our country, it is rare for it to be discussed as an ethical and moral issue. Judging from the published research papers on ethics and moral issues, socialist humanism has always been rejected as an inherent part of our morality system" (Shi, 9/1984:15).</p>                        | <p>雖然近幾年來，人道主義問題在我國理論界，思想界一直是熱門的課題，但把它作為一個倫理道德課題來討論，卻是罕見的。從公開出版的倫理學論著和德育研究論文來看，大都把社會主義人道主義排斥在我們倫理道德體系之外。</p> |
| 7 | 8  | <p>"from the point of view of ethical relationship, socialist humanism ... recognises that the relationship between individuals living in a system of public ownership is that of equality and co-operation" (Shi, 9/1984:16)</p>  | <p>從倫理關係的角度看，社會主義人道.....肯定在社會主義公有制條件下的人與人之間的關係是平等，互助，合作的關係，肯定人民大眾是社會的主人。</p>                                 |



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| 7 | 8 | <p>“In the past, the theoreticians in our country have always regarded that the socialist moral system is composed of basic principles like collectivism, patriotism, internationalism, to love labouring and to care for public property. Socialist humanism as an ethical principle or moral paradigm has never been mentioned. In fact, from the point of view of the functioning of morality, collectivism mainly deals with the relationship between individuals and the collectivity; patriotism deals with the relationship between individuals and their country; internationalism deals with the relationship between countries. All these principles cannot be used to handle the relationship between individuals in the vast amount of daily events” (Shi, 9/1984:19).</p> | <p>以往，在我國倫理學界，一般認為社會主義的道德體系由集體主義，愛國主義，國際主義，熱愛勞動，愛護公共財產等幾個原則構成，而沒有提出社會主義人道主義倫理原則或道德規範。其實，從道德的作用範圍上看，集體主義主要是處理個人和集體之間的相互關係的，愛國主義是處理個人與國家之間的相互關係的，國際主義是處理國家與國家之間的相互關係，這些原則顯然都不能用來調整日常生活中大量發生的個人與個人之間的相互關係。</p> |
| 7 | 9 | <p>“The proletariat collectivist principle is a new form of social relationship between individuals and their collectivity. Its basic request is to integrate individual and collective interest, under the principle that individual interests have to be subsumed under collective interests. Hence, all forms of individualism are in contradiction with communist morality” (Song, 11/1981:3). 11 月</p>  | <p>無產階級的集體主義原則，體現了個人對集體的一種新型的社會關係。它的基本要求，是在個人利益服從集體利益的前提下，把個人利益和集體利益結合起來；它的最高表現，是全心全意為人民服務和大公無私的精神。因此，共產主義道德與各種各樣的個人主義，都是直接對立的。</p>   |



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| 7 | 10 | <p>“the reason why communist morality is a great morality is that it is not based upon protecting the interests of the minority and the exploiters. Instead it is based upon the interests of proletariat and the great working class people” (Song, 4/1982:19)</p>  | <p>共產主義道德之所以是偉大的道德，因為這種道德”不是建築在保護個人和少數剝削者的利益的基礎上，而是建築在無產階級和廣大勞動人民的利益的基礎上。</p>   |
| 7 | 10 | <p>“In a nutshell, individual interest has to be completely subsumed under the interest of the collective. One should refrain from putting the interests of individuals above all the decisions and always give the first priority to collective interests. On the other hand, one should consider one’s proper interests in the context of the interest of the Party and the collectivity so that any individual can develop in the course of revolution and hence contribute more to the whole course. The unity of these two sides is the whole issue of communist collective principle” (Song, 4/1982:20).</p> | <p>一方面，個人利益應當完全服從整體利益，要克己奉公，不應有與整體利益相違背的個人目的和個人打算；另一方面，爲了黨的事業的發展，爲了整體利益，必須考慮到個人的正當利益，使個人能夠在革命事業中不斷提高自己，爲整個事業作出更大貢獻，這兩方面的統一，就是共產主義道德集體主義原則的全部內容。</p> |

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| 7 | 11 | <p>“Because the influence of ten years’ turmoil has not been completely eliminated, and the process of rectifying the leftist influences together with the implementation of the open door policy, some bourgeoisie liberalism ideas have also gone into the schools. Some ideas like “individual freedom”, “individual value” and certain bourgeoisie moral rules like “self-determination” and “free competition” are also beginning to be spread among certain people. Some youths are beginning to refuse to commit themselves to the state collective and step on the wrong path of individual advancement” (Sun, 4/1982:23).</p> | <p>由於十年內亂的影響還沒有完全消除，由於在糾正左傾錯誤和對實行開放政策的過程中，資產階級自由化等思潮也滲進學校。所謂「個人自由」，「個人價值」以及「自我設計」，「自由競爭」等資產階級奉行的道德信條也在一部分人中間流傳，一些青少年走上不顧國家集體，一心為個人奮鬥的錯誤道路。</p> |
| 7 | 12 | <p>“today, people prepare themselves in accordance with what is requested from the Party. This does not mean that there is no less a requirement for individual planning and advancement” (Miao, 2/1984:29)</p>  | <p>今天要求按照黨的要求鍛鍊自己，這決不是說就不再須要個人的規劃，奮鬥目標。</p>  |
| 7 | 13 | <p>“The reform in economic structure, the development of productivity, the development of new ideas to adapt to the development of the society as well as the infiltration and dissemination of heterogeneous culture have all created some strong shock waves to the arena of thought and ideology” (Zhang and Zang, 4/1988:15).</p>  | <p>經濟體制的變革，生產力的發展，適應社會進步趨勢的新思想的產生，異質文化的滲入和傳播，在思想領域裡形成了一股強大的沖擊波。</p>  |



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| 7 | 20 | “(1) Is socialism in our country really more advanced than other countries? (2) Is the Chinese Communist Party able to lead the Chinese people in achieving the modernization programme? (3) Is the strategic task of building a modernized, highly democratic, highly civilized socialist powerful country able to be achieved?” (Zhang, 1981/2:2)  | 一.是我國社會主義有無優越性？二.是中國共產黨是否還能領導我國人民搞四化？三.是我們要建設一個現代化的高度民主高度文明的社會主義強國的戰略目標能否實現？  |
| 7 | 20 | “Because of the need to achieve the Modernization programme as fast as possible, we have to learn advance science and technology from Europe, USA and Japan. However we must not learn the selfish, egocentric, egotistic aspect of the rotten bourgeoisie values. What we must do is to integrate the advanced socialist system and communist morality and should not be contaminated by the bourgeoisie thoughts” (Zhang, 1981/2:5). | 爲了多快好省地實現四化，我們學習歐美日本先進的科學技術是完全必要的，但它們那種爾虞我詐，損人利己，唯利是圖的腐朽的資產階級思想卻不能學。我們只能把先進的社會主義制度，高尚的共產主義道德品質和近代的科學技術結合起來，絕對不能受資產階級的思想腐蝕和影響。 |
| 7 | 23 | “what was needed was factory managers who could effectively organize and supervise production and the trading of the products; chief engineers who could strengthen and improve the level of technology; chief economists who could raise economic efficiency and maintain financial rules...” (Yang, 1985/3:69)   | 具體要求，即造就出大批能夠卓有成效地組織和指揮企業生產和經營的廠長（經理），能夠有力地加強企業的技術管理，推動技術進步的總工程師，能夠切實加強企業經營，提高經濟效益的總經濟師，能夠嚴格維護財經紀律，精打細算。                      |

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| 7 | 26 | “the principle of subjectivity is the basic principle of ideological education at universities and colleges” (Liu, 1989/3:8).  | 主體性原則是高校思想教育的基本原則。  |
| 7 | 27 | “At the same time when collectivism is being advocated, we should also advocate self-confidence, self-respect, self-reliance and self-strengthening. In the case of patriotism, we should pay attention to the moral education of citizens. We should emphasis the responsibility of individuals to the country, to reinforce a sense of social responsibility and on the other hand, we should also emphasis a sense of rights in participating social and state affairs and in enjoying the benefits offered by the society” (Chu, 1989/3:15). | 在提倡集體主義的同時，也要提倡自信, 自尊, 自立, 自強；在提倡愛國主義的同時，要注意進行公民道德教育，既要強調個人對國家應盡的義務，強化其社會責任感，也要強化其參與國家與社會事務，享受應有的社會利益的權利意識。 |



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| 7 | 38 | <p>“To rectify the neglect of material interest for the mass and over emphasis of over dominance of politics in the past, we have now initiated the bonus welfare system. However, there is now an emerging trend of only paying attention to material incentive and neglecting spiritual incentive, as well as ideological and political work. There is also an emerging phenomenon of ‘coming together to work for money’. In the past, when we were living in the war and revolutionary environment, we relied upon working extremely hard, and the will to sacrifice ourselves to fight the enemies within this country and abroad in order for us to win the war. In order to achieve the Four Modernization programmes, apart from paying attention to the material welfare of the mass, we have to educate the people in the spirit of communism (Zhang, 1981/2:5).</p> | <p>爲了糾正過去只搞什麼政治掛帥而忽視群眾物質利益的偏向，現在開始發獎金搞福利。但現在又出現只重視物質鼓勵而忽視精神鼓勵和思想政治工作的偏向，出現了所謂「團結起來向錢看」的現象。過去革命戰爭環境，主要用艱苦奮鬥，英勇犧牲的精神去和國內外敵人作鬥爭而取得了勝利；現在我們搞四化，除了關心群眾物質生活外，同樣要用共產主義精神來教育人民才能成功。</p> |
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| 7 | 39 | <p>“The proletariat collectivist principle is a realization of a modern social relationship between individual and the collectivity. Its basic demand is, under the premise of individual interest subsumed under the interest of collectivity, to integrate the interest of individual and collectivity. Its highest level of realization is the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly and concerning nothing but the public good. Hence, communist morality is incompatible with various forms of individualism” (Song, 1981/11: 3)</p> | <p>無產階級的集體主義原則，體現了個人對集體的一種新型的社會關係。它的基本要求，是在個人利益服從集體利益的前提下，把個人利益和集體利益結合起來；它的最高表現，是全心全意為人民服務和大公無私的精神。因此，共產主義道德與各種各樣的個人主義，都是直接對立的。</p>                              |
| 7 | 40 | <p>“In the process of socialism, we not only need a high level of material civilization, we also need a high degree of spiritual civilization ... In order to build spiritual civilization, ... we strive to have as many participants of the society as possible to have the self consciousness of working hard for the communist ideal and the willingness to devote themselves to the good course of socialism” (Gan, 6/1982:83).</p>  | <p>我們要建設的社會主義國家，不但要有高度的物質文明，而且要有高度的精神文明，所謂物質文明，是人類物質生活條件的進步狀態，表現為勞動工具和技術的進步，物質財富的增長。在我國，建設社會主義物質文明把國民經濟搞上去，關鍵是發展生產力，而作為生產力中最主要的因素的人的思想覺悟和道德風貌如何，對生產力的發展關係極大。</p> |
| 7 | 40 | <p>“in a socialist country like China, to satisfy the needs of oneself (reasonable self interest) and to improve on the degree of material interest after all depends upon the achievement of socialism” (Li, 8/1982:31)</p>  | <p>在我國社會主義國家中，“自我”（合理的個人利益）的滿足，個人物質文化生活的改善，歸根結底，要靠社會主義事業的勝利。</p>   |



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| 7 | 41 | “not only acquire a revolutionary view of life, also enhance the formation of communist characteristics” (Chen, 1984/6:43)   | 不僅有助於學生確立革命的人生觀，也有利於學生形成共產主義性格特徵。   |
| 7 | 42 | “If moral education does not take into consideration the self interest of the youth and to satisfy their normal needs, then they are not willing to be educated for the sake of contributing themselves to the society. In this new period, there are more and more normal needs which should be recognised by us. Thus how we are to take this into consideration has become a problem which we must address” (Wang, 1985/1:14) | 如果德育不考慮青少年的切身利益，不盡力滿足他們的正當需要，他們是不會願意接受為社會作出貢獻的教育。新時期的青少年的正當的需要肯定是愈來愈多，如何進一步為青少年設想，是德育不能忽視的問題。 |
| 7 | 43 | “The autonomy of self and self-governing are not incompatible with and in opposition to the collectivity and society. In the contrary, it is a higher form of development of the society is now based upon self consciousness and self regulation” (Yang, 1987/10).  | 個體的自主，自治並不是同集體和社會完全對立，相互排斥的概念，而是社會集體由簡單強制走向自覺，自律的更高的發展形態。                                     |

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| 7 | 43 | <p>“the so called initiatives of human beings in moral actions entail two levels of meaning. The first is that morality is rooted in the need for the collective to maintain its survival and development. It is also originated from the intrinsic need of the individuals in pursuit of their life values, self-realisation and emancipation of selves.... The self-independence in morality, which is also self-regulatory function of morality, is in fact the core component of the principle of subjectivity in human beings” (Chu, 3/1989:13).</p> | <p>所謂人在道德活動中的能動性，包括兩層意思，其一是道德不僅植根於維繫社會集團生存和發展的整體需要，而且也源於個人追求人生價值，自我實現，自我解放的內在需要.....，道德既有規範，約束人的行為的一面，又有激勵，引導人的行為的一面，它驅使人不斷追求自身的幸福與完善，是人發展其自身的強大動力之一。</p> |
| 7 | 44 | <p>“A senior form student publicly declines to apply for membership of the Communist Youth League. The reason that he gives is that he still does not adequately understand communism. He then borrows a lot of book on communism and earnestly studies them. Another student does not even know about basic knowledge of communism, but this student keeps on requesting to join Communist Youth League (Wang, 1/1985:13).</p>   | <p>一個高中生公開拒絕加入共青團，理由是“我還不懂什麼是共產主義呢”。可是從此他借了許多關於共產主義的書，認真地讀起來。另一個學生連共產主義的常識都不懂，卻天天要求入團。</p>  |



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| 7 | 45 | <p>“We are now requesting the students to offer themselves for the interest of the society, the country, the people and the collective wholeheartedly. This is entirely necessary. Although individual interest has already been part of the societal interest, they are not always wholly compatible with each other ...In fact, youths have their own reasonable interests and hobbies. These needs have to be satisfied and taken care of” (Wang, 1/1985:14).</p> | <p>我們要求學生全心全意為社會，為國家，為人民，為集團利益貢獻自己的一切，這是完全必要的。雖然社會利益中包括著個人利益，但畢竟還不是完全一致的.....。事實上，青少年有他們自己特殊的正當的興趣愛好和利益。這些需要，要予以照顧和滿足。</p> |
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## Appendix 2

| Year | Month | Title   | Author                                       |
|------|-------|---|--|
| 1979 | 3     | A Preliminary Approach to Moral Education in School.  | Wang Fengxian                                |
| 1980 | 2     | Self-cultivation and Moral education.   | Luo Guojie                                   |
| 1981 | 2     | A Preliminary Investigation on Moral Education.   | Lu Jie                                       |
| 1981 | 2     | Carry out the Education of "Four Basic Principles" at All Levels and in All Sorts of Schools. | Zhang Jian                                   |
| 1981 | 3     | Ideological Education should Attach Great Importance to the Development of Cognitive Ability. | Tian Jiasheng,<br>Jing Hai,<br>Zhang Wenqing |
| 1981 | 3     | Ideological Characteristics of Current Youngsters.  | Yu Zhongxiu<br>and Others                    |
| 1981 | 4     | The Main Part Doing Ideological Education for Students are Teachers.                          | Chen Heping                                  |
| 1981 | 4     | L Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Education.   | Li Boshu                                     |
| 1981 | 4     | Simple Explanation about the Ideal Education for Elementary and Secondary School Pupils.      | Li Xihuai                                    |
| 1981 | 4     | My Personal View on the Formation of the Ideal of the Juveniles.                              | Lu Wensheng                                  |
| 1981 | 4     | An Investigation on the State of Mind of Secondary Students.                                  | Tong Lian,<br>Zhao Ruochang,<br>Yang XinYi   |
| 1981 | 4     | Political and Ideological Work for Young People Should be more Scientific.                    | Wang Jingzhang                               |
| 1981 | 4     | Carry out the Instruction of Marxist Theory Vividly and Vigorously.                           | Zheng Zhongbing,<br>Peng Xianfu              |
| 1981 | 4     | The Process and Law of Communist Moral Education.   | Zhong Lunshi                                 |
| 1981 | 4     | China's Ancient Educators on the Process and Method of Moral Education.                       | Zhou Dechang                                 |
| 1981 | 5     | On the Love of Teachers.  | Hu Yunruto                                   |



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| 1981 | 5  | An Approach to the Scientificization of Political and Ideological Work in Rural Schools.                                      | Kuang Jihong                              |
| 1981 | 5  | Communist Morality Education: A Common Cause of the Whole Society.  | Zhong Lunshi                              |
| 1981 | 5  | Take an Active Role on the Ideological and Moral Education of Young Children.   | Zhou Qin                                  |
| 1981 | 6  | An Investigation of the Relationship between "Redness" and "Expertise".   | Chen Xintai                               |
| 1981 | 6  | The Ideological and Moral education for Children should be more Scientific.   | Wu Qicheng                                |
| 1981 | 6  | The Communist Moral Education: An Important Subject of Marxist Ethics.  | Zhong Lunshi                              |
| 1981 | 6  | Strengthen the Spiritual Civilization and Courtesy Education among Pre-School Children.                                       | Zhou Nan                                  |
| 1981 | 7  | A Discussion about the Civilization and Courtesy Education among Infants.   | Lu Yuezhen                                |
| 1981 | 7  | A Brief Account of the Necessity in Carrying out the Education of the "Five Stresses" and "Four Points of Beauty" in Schools. | Wang Bingren                              |
| 1981 | 7  | The Communist Moral Education for Students Should be More Scientific.   | Zhou Jian                                 |
| 1981 | 10 | The Necessity for Secondary Schools to Lay a Good Ideological Foundation for the Healthy Development of Students.             | Beijing No. 5 Middy School                |
| 1981 | 10 | Strengthen and Improve Political and Ideological Education in the Spirit of the Resolution.                                   | Reporter of this Journal                  |
| 1981 | 10 | Some Experiences in Strengthening Political and Ideological Work among Students.  | The Party Committee of Qinghua University |
| 1981 | 10 | On the Requisites for the Effect of Moral Education.  | Wu Zhihong                                |
| 1981 | 10 | The All-Roundness of Intellectual Development and its Relationship with Moral Education.                                      | Zhang Shichong                            |
| 1981 | 10 | The Development of Self-Conception and the Moral Education for Children.  | Zhao Chengfu                              |



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| 1981 | 11 | An Investigation into the Formation and Development of Juvenile Ideals.   | Han Jinzhi,<br>Xiao Yanna,<br>Wei<br>Huazhong |
| 1981 | 11 | A Study of Lenin's Thoughts on Communist Moral Education.   | Song<br>Huichang                              |
| 1981 | 11 | Give Full Play to the Educational Role of Ethics Courses in Primary Schools.                                    | Zhao<br>Xisheng, Xu<br>Canggui                |
| 1981 | 12 | Study Ideological and Political Work in Schools under the Guidance of Marxism-Leninism.                         | Cjo Guan                                      |
| 1981 | 12 | B.A. Sohomlinsky on Moral Education.  | Du Diankun                                    |
| 1981 | 12 | Strengthen and Improve the Party's Leadership to Ideological and Political Work among Students.                 | Liu Jieyu                                     |
| 1981 | 12 | Let Images of Revolutionary Heroes Illuminate the Hearts of the Youngsters.                                     | Wu Lide                                       |
| 1982 | 4  | Have a Firm Grasp of Primary School Moral Education in the Training of the Young Children.                      | A<br>Commentary                               |
| 1982 | 4  | A Personal Understanding of Mao Zedong's Thoughts on Moral Education.   | Chu Peijun                                    |
| 1982 | 4  | Study Liu Shaoqi's Thoughts about Moral Education: Some Thoughts about "Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi" Volume 1. | Song<br>Huichang                              |
| 1982 | 4  | Adhere to the Fundamental Principle of Moral and Ideological Education: Collectivism and Individualism.         | Sun Yun                                       |
| 1982 | 4  | Bring the Collective into Full Play in Education: A Critical Review of A Makareno's 'Collective Theory'.        | Tao Jing                                      |
| 1982 | 4  | A Preliminary Enquiry into the Moral Development of School Pupils.  | Wang<br>Bingren,<br>CaoGuoqi                  |
| 1982 | 4  | A Study of Lenin's Thoughts on The Propaganda And Education for Communist Morality.                             | Zheng<br>Zuquan                               |

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| 1982 | 5  | A Survey of Ideological and Moral Education in Schools in Shenzhen of Guangdong Province.             | An Investigation Group from Education Department of South China Teachers College |
| 1982 | 5  | A Study of the Connection of Moral Education in Colleges and in Secondary Schools.                    | Li Yiru, Wang Baozi, Cao Gyoqi   |
| 1982 | 6  | The Acquisition of Proletarian Outlook on Life: A Requirement for Qualified Personnel of the Times.   | Gan Baolou   |
| 1982 | 6  | On the Cultivation of Collectivism among Undergraduates of Engineering Science.                       | Zheng Zhaoji, Li Hungbao, Jiang Ming   |
| 1982 | 7  | Persist in Communist Ideological Education in Schools.  | Wei Lan  |
| 1982 | 7  | Bring into Full Play the Leading Role of Teachers in the Instruction of Marxist Theories.             | Zheng Zhongbing  |
| 1982 | 8  | Analysis of Some Viewpoints of the Egocentric Outlook on Life.  | Li Chunqiu   |
| 1982 | 9  | Characteristic Features of Secondary Students' Cognition of Ethical Values.                           | Cheng Anfu   |
| 1982 | 9  | On the Three 'Transfers' in Politics Teaching in Secondary Schools.                                   | Goa Bingkun  |
| 1982 | 9  | Judgement and Conception in Ethical Values.   | Zhang Jusheng  |
| 1982 | 10 | Moral Education and Practice.   | Huang Kuo  |
| 1982 | 10 | A Theory of Stages in the Process of Moral Education.   | Leng Ran   |
| 1982 | 10 | Local Education and Ideological Work.   | Zhou Naifu   |
| 1982 | 11 | On the Role of Communist Education in Socialist Spiritual Civilization.                               | Lu Guojie  |
| 1982 | 11 | Summing Up Experiences to Strengthen and Improve Ideological and Moral Education in Secondary School. | Wei Li   |



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| 1982 | 11 | Strengthening Democratic and Legal Education of Adolescents.  | Wu Daying                          |
| 1982 | 12 | Improve Ideological and Political Education Among College Students in Light of Specific Conditions. | Hu Zhihong                         |
| 1982 | 12 | A Theory of Human Adaptation to Social Conditions.  | Leng Ran                           |
| 1982 | 12 | On the Development of Self-Education Capacities of College Students.                                | Liu Xianjun                        |
| 1982 | 12 | Bring Communist Ideological Education of Youth to a New Level.                                      | Wu Mu                              |
| 1983 | 1  | An Inquiry into Ideological and Political Education among College Students.                         | Beijing Chinese Medicine Institute |
| 1983 | 1  | Structure and Formation of Moral Values and Qualities.  | Xue Dianhui                        |
| 1983 | 2  | On the Moulding Function of Education.  | Jiang Tingchen                     |
| 1983 | 2  | Useful Implications of Li Yanjie's Experiences in Ideological Education.                            | Wang Xinru, Chen Yingling          |
| 1983 | 3  | Two Issues in Theory of Moral Education.  | Jin Yuanxun                        |
| 1983 | 3  | Marx's Ethical Thoughts and Contemporary Moral Education.   | Song Huichang                      |
| 1983 | 3  | Some Ideas on Moral Self-Cultivation.   | Wang Runsheng                      |
| 1983 | 4  | Ideas on Ideological and Moral Education in Primary Schools.  | Bai Tianyou, Li Yuezhong           |
| 1983 | 4  | Strengthening and Developing Communist Education in Light of Actual Conditions.                     | Sun Yunren                         |
| 1983 | 6  | Education of the Early-Adolescent Students Concerning Matters of First Love.                        | Liu Jinying                        |
| 1983 | 9  | Politics Teaching and Marxist Belief.   | An Zhixhen                         |
| 1983 | 9  | Personal Views on Education of Secondary School Students in Revolutionary Ideas.                    | Bai Mingxin                        |
| 1983 | 9  | Juvenile Fundamental Characteristics and Their Relations to Education.                              | Wang Fengxian                      |



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| 1983 | 10 | On the Structure of Human Being's Ideology and Morality.   | Han Shuhua                  |
| 1983 | 10 | A Report on the Research of the Morality of China's Youngsters.  | Huang Jianhua               |
| 1983 | 12 | The Characteristics of Ideals and the Psychological Analysis to the Formation Process.                           | Chen Anfu                   |
| 1983 | 12 | Personal Characteristics of Model Students and Juvenile Delinquents and the Methods to Educate Them.             | Qin Junsheng                |
| 1983 | 12 | The Role of Education in Preventing Juvenile Delinquency.  | Tian Sen                    |
| 1984 | 1  | Several Theories of Communist Ideological and Moral Course in Higher Education Institution.                      | Xu Qixian                   |
| 1984 | 2  | Reviewing the Topic on "Planning Oneself by Oneself".  | Miao Zuobin                 |
| 1984 | 2  | Reviewing the Theory on "Self Realizing" of Individual Character.  | Zhao Zhongtian,<br>Xin Feng |
| 1984 | 3  | The Art of Critical Talking with Student.  | Chen Zhong Liang            |
| 1984 | 3  | The View of Freedom of Jean-Paul Sartre and Its Influence on the Students in Institute of High Education.        | Liu Lili ,<br>Zhou Guanghui |
| 1984 | 3  | On Feeling Life of Class Collective.   | Tang Xun                    |
| 1984 | 5  | The Status and Role of Patriotism Education in Schooling.  | Wang Bingren                |
| 1984 | 5  | The Teaching of Political Course should Research the Student's Psychological Characteristic and Law of Thinking. | Zhang Zhenfan               |
| 1984 | 6  | The Role of the Cultural Knowledge in Formation of Zhang Haidi's Outlook on Life.                                | Chen Sheng                  |
| 1984 | 6  | The Productive Labour is a Necessary Way Of the Moral Education.   | Chen Xianmei                |
| 1984 | 6  | Patriotism is a Starting Point of the Teaching of the Moral Education Lecture in Higher Education Institution.   | Qiu Yifu                    |

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| 1984 | 6  | On Advancing by Regular Steps in the Ideological and Moral Education in Primary School.                                    | Wu Qicheng            |
| 1984 | 8  | Inquiry into Outlook on Life.  | Wen Zhongzi           |
| 1984 | 9  | My Humble View on Socialist Humanitarianism As the Ethical Fundamental and Moral Norm.                                     | Shi Xin               |
| 1984 | 12 | The New Technological Revolution and Moral Education.  | Lu Jie                |
| 1985 | 1  | Issues Related to Moral Education in the "Three Faces".  | Wang Fengxian         |
| 1985 | 2  | Folk Customs and Moral Education.  | Yan Xianyuan          |
| 1985 | 3  | Ideological Education of College Students in the New Situation: "To Alter" Versus "Not To Alter".                          | Yang Dequang          |
| 1985 | 4  | School Moral Education and Social Information.   | Li Zhbiao, Mu Zhiqing |
| 1985 | 4  | College Students' Ideological Education in the New Situation.  | Yang Dequang          |
| 1985 | 7  | Value Conception Changes Vs. Moral Education.  | Yuan Zhenguo          |
| 1985 | 8  | Ideals and Ideals Education.   | Hu Yiben              |
| 1985 | 9  | Sense of The Epoch in College Ideological and Political Work.  | Huang Ke              |
| 1985 | 9  | Random Thoughts on the Role of Ideological Education.  | Lu Jie                |
| 1985 | 9  | Demands and Needs of College Students in Modern China.   | Zhao Jianhua          |
| 1985 | 10 | Developing an Open and Energetic System of Ideological Education.  | Dong Jingquan         |
| 1985 | 10 | My Humble View on the Present Reform Drive, Openness to the Rest of the World, and Ideal Education among College Students. | Liao Fuling           |
| 1985 | 10 | My Humble View on "Multiple Beginnings" of Moral Education.  | Wang Zhaoxiang        |
| 1986 | 1  | My Humble View on Upgrading the Conception of Moral Education.   | Wang Fengxian         |



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| 1986 | 1  | Strengthening and Improving Ideological and Political Work in Schools, Building Schools into Bases for Construction of Socialist Spiritual Civilization. | Zhang Chenxian         |
| 1986 | 4  | A Brief Analysis of Innate Laws of the Shaping of Morality.  | Wang Tiejun            |
| 1986 | 4  | On Reform of Moral Education in the New Situation.   | Yang Xianjun           |
| 1986 | 6  | More Thoughts on the Multi-Beginning of Moral Education Process.   | Hu Xiaoying            |
| 1986 | 6  | Only One Beginning for a Process?  | Zhang Fangxu           |
| 1986 | 7  | School Moral Education and Intervention from the Society.  | Wang Xiaoxun           |
| 1986 | 9  | On Early Love of Secondary School Students and Their Education.  | Zhang Mingxia          |
| 1986 | 10 | Issues of Moral Education In Development of Creativity.  | Wen Xinhua, Tang Siqun |
| 1986 | 11 | Life Style, Occupational Interest and Sex Education.   | Feng Xiaogang          |
| 1986 | 11 | Reflections on Education About Communist Ideal.  | Huang Hong             |
| 1986 | 11 | Civilisation, Spiritual World and Intellectual Output.   | Zheng Zhongbing        |
| 1987 | 2  | On Essential Principles and Methods of Education for Young People in Early Puberty.  | Liu Fengwu             |
| 1987 | 2  | New Elements to be Included in Ideological Education for Secondary School Students.  | Liu Shufen             |
| 1987 | 3  | An Inquiry into Moral Education in Open Zones.   | Deng Zetang            |
| 1987 | 3  | Moral Behavior of Secondary School Students: Causes and Educational Strategies in Remedying Divorce from Moral Principles.                               | Ding Yu                |
| 1987 | 5  | An Analysis of Forecasting Models of Students' Antagonistic Attitudes.   | Zhao Yingzhong         |
| 1987 | 6  | An Inquiry into the Three-Ring Junction Theory in Moral Education.   | Zhao Zhiyi             |



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| 1987 | 7  | The Necessity of Correcting the Tendency to Neglect Labour Education.                       | Luo Laidong         |
| 1987 | 8  | The Quantitative Measurement in School Moral Education Assessment.                          | Lin Changhua        |
| 1987 | 9  | On the Right Moment for Moral Education.  | Bai Mingxing        |
| 1987 | 10 | Laying Emphasis on Moral Education in Primary and Middle Schools.                           | Ge Zhicheng         |
| 1987 | 10 | More Attention to the Training of Human Quality.  | Yang Li             |
| 1987 | 11 | Objections to "Multi-Beginning" in Moral Education Process.                                 | Zhao Zhenxiang      |
| 1988 | 1  | On Moral Education.   | Lu Xingwei          |
| 1988 | 2  | The Relation Between the Internal and External Causes in the Formation of Moral Character.  | Liu Xinjun          |
| 1988 | 2  | Self-Education of the Youth.  | Yu Zhonghua         |
| 1988 | 4  | The Use of Suggestopedia on Moral Education.  | Ban Hua             |
| 1988 | 4  | Tempering and Education.  | Leng Ran            |
| 1988 | 4  | Moral Education in the Socialist Primary Stage.   | Lu Jie              |
| 1988 | 4  | Education and the Character Development.  | Xiang Xianning      |
| 1988 | 4  | Collectivism Education in the Socialist Primary Stage.                                      | Zhang Xianyao et al |
| 1988 | 5  | The Functions of Fine Examples in Education.  | Gu Liping           |
| 1988 | 5  | A Study on the Relationship between Pupils' "Control Point" and their Responsible Behavior. | Zhang Jilian        |
| 1988 | 6  | Political Democratization and the Cultivation of Students' Democratic Quality.              | Tong Yuenian        |
| 1988 | 6  | Discrimination of the Quantitative Assessment of Moral Education.                           | Yang Jong Et Al     |
| 1988 | 8  | Personality Development and Moral Issues.   | Zheng Huai          |
| 1988 | 9  | Competition and Moral Education.  | Shen Zhenxin        |
| 1988 | 9  | On The Phases Of Ideal Education.   | Xiao Yianxu         |
| 1988 | 11 | Probing the New Model of Moral Education Suiting Chinese Circumstances.                     | Yan Xianyuan        |
| 1988 | 12 | Reforming Ideological Education: An Imperative Task for Educational Development.            | Liu Qingchun        |
| 1988 | 12 | The Dilemma and Way Out of Moral Education.   | Wang Jinlang        |



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| 1989 | 3  | On the Subjectivity of Human Beings in Moral Behaviours and the Principle of Subjectivity in Moral Education.                                   | Chu Wanzhong                   |
| 1989 | 3  | On the Principle of Subjectivity Ad The Modernization of Ideological Education at Universities and Colleges.                                    | Liu Qingchun                   |
| 1989 | 4  | A Study on the Ideological Changes of Secondary Students and the Educational Counter Measures in The Open Cities.                               | Li Ji                          |
| 1989 | 4  | On the Macro-Level Environment of Political Education.  | Ni Runquan                     |
| 1989 | 4  | On the Demoralization of Moral Education.   | Zhan Zhenquan                  |
| 1989 | 6  | The Impact of Present Commodity Economic Development Upon Children.   | Tan Gangqiang,<br>Luo Jinghong |
| 1989 | 7  | On Competition.   | Zhang De                       |
| 1989 | 7  | Multi-Dimensional Reflections on the Emotional Factors in Ideological Education.  | Zheng Rijin                    |
| 1989 | 8  | Education and Control of Transitional Behaviours of Secondary Students.   | He Changyu,<br>Liu Tong        |
| 1989 | 8  | Re-understanding on the Social Role of Moral Education From the Angle of Economics.   | Hu Xiaoying                    |
| 1989 | 8  | Adaptation and Transcendence: The Reply of Moral Education to Modern Society.   | Li Qingming                    |
| 1989 | 8  | The Leading Role of Moral Education in Today's Schools and the Perfection of Environment for Social Education.                                  | Wang Fengxian                  |
| 1989 | 09 | The Education of Adhering to 'Four Basic Points' and the Policy of Reform and Opening to the Outside World should be Offered to Young Students. | Zhang Jian                     |
| 1989 | 10 | A Query to the "Principle of Inculcation".  | Han Xiangqian                  |
| 1989 | 10 | Reflections on the Relation between Commodity Economy and Moral Education in Schools.   | Li Xihuai                      |
| 1989 | 10 | Political Conviction Is The Kernel Of Moral Education Among Young People.   | Shen Jie                       |



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| 1989 | 10 | Restudying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Exposition on Ideological and Political Education.  | Yu Li                      |
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## **Appendix 3**

Various features about traditional collectivism and regulated individualism as reflected from ideological orientation without pedagogic practice (IO) and ideological orientation with pedagogic practice (IOwPP) papers.

### **1 Features about traditional collectivism**

#### **1.1 The importance of the Party**

- the Party's role is mainly in ideological and moral work
- to adopt a variety of methods, to implement fully the idea of channelling, teaching must be conducive to thinking, intellectual and being lively
- to initiate the participation of schools
- the need of a good, stable, "red and expert" working team

#### **1.2 The critique of applying behavioural sciences in ideological and moral education**

#### **1.3 Explaining the importance of moral education within the framework of Marxism**

#### **1.4 Moral education objectives derived from Party Central document.**

##### **1.4.1 Teaching of moral education should take into consideration of the mental conditions of the students**

##### **1.4.2 Teaching of moral education should be compatible with the spirit of the Twelfth Party National Congress**

##### **1.4.3 More survey to learn about various situations about the students.**

##### **1.4.4 Learning hard Marxism and Maoism**

##### **1.4.5 Model of learning, e.g. Zhang Haidi**

#### **1.5 Analysing the nature of campus culture,**

- 1.5.1 critique of the shortcoming in recent work in the area of campus culture
  - too much emphasis on importing foreign culture and little emphasis on researching and inheriting of good and traditional culture
  - too much emphasis of absorbing culture from the wider society and little emphasis on the selection
- 1.6 The contribution of Chinese military culture to patriotic education
  - the characteristics of thinking in the military culture have a strong role to play in the orientation of thinking in education
  - the aesthetic side of military culture can serve to offer emotional comfort in education
  - the practical aspect of patriotism in the military culture has a demonstration effect in education
- 2. **Teaching methods proposed under traditional collectivism**
  - 2.1 The educational principle
    - ts. should have the consciousness to teach collectivism education any time
    - ts. know how to use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism
    - moral education should be part of the intellectual education. Collectivism should permeate intellectual education.
  - 2.2 moulding principle
    - to create a class collective that is conducive to collectivism
  - 2.3 practice principle
  - 2.4 must take into consideration of the characteristics of the youth



- their developmental growth
- identify their needs

- 2.5 use the method of discussion
- 2.6 love the students
- 2.7 good presentation of the ideas
- 2.8 the use of a model
- 2.9 participation of productive labour
- 2.10 discussion of an ideal

### **3. Ideas associated with regulated individualism**

- 3.1 The need of change
  - 3.1.1 because of the change in the overall mission of the country in the 80's.
  - 3.1.2 because the nature of ideological work has changed
  - 3.1.3 because the society demands for a different type of students
  - 3.1.4 because of the changes in the target of ideological work themselves
- 3.2 there is a need to change
  - 3.2.1 the old idea which regarded ideological education as serving class struggle
  - 3.2.2 the method of ideological work:
    - a) the willingness to compare socialism and capitalism;
    - b) the willingness to discuss difficult issues;
    - c) to practice education;  
to initiate the students to participate various social activities
    - d) education and management

- various methods of ideological education should be compatible with methods of educational management
- 3.2.3 the content of ideological education should be scientific
- 3.2.4. the importance of teachers
- 3.3 the need of change in ideological education with reference to changes in values : changes in value about human beings, political values, economic values, scientific values, moral values, aesthetic values, values about behaviour
- 3.4 the need of necessary changes in ideological education in higher education
  - 3.4.1 the guiding ideas should be changed from the leadership style to the servicing style
  - 3.4.2 the emphasis of work should be changed from ad hoc and passive style to active and based on recognition of regularities about the students
  - 3.4.3 the style of work from constraints and restrictive to guidance and self education
  - 3.4.4 use democratic method
  - 3.4.5 ideological work is not only about preaching ideological ideas but also actually putting them into practice
  - 3.4.6 it should be possible to measure the achievement of ideological education
- 3.5 more need for changes in moral education
  - 3.5.1 the relationship between moral education and the two civilization (material and spiritual)
  - 3.5.2 moral education itself has its autonomy and different from intellectual and vocational education
- 3.6 a notion of human quality, which entails the following ideas:
  - 3.6.1 a correct understanding about the basic history of the country, nation, Party and socialism.
  - 3.6.2 an active and forward looking attitude about life
  - 3.6.3 a systematic and firm grounded basic knowledge
  - 3.6.4 an ability to self-respect, love oneself, autonomous and self



- ruling
- 3.6.5 to have civilized habit, to raise to ability to appreciate aesthetic, to love the nature and have at least fond of one type of art
- 3.6.6 to be good at physical exercise
- 3.7 moral education in a state of turmoil because of the leftist influence
  - 3.7.1 didactic method now being replaced by the method of dialogue
  - 3.7.2 teaching to emphasizing the role of students as subjects of teaching and learning
- 3.8 new model of moral education
  - 3.8.1 source of discomfort about the current moral education because of:
    - partial understanding about the change in ethics because of the development of commodity economics
    - simplistic understanding about the development of moral issues in the socialist primary stage
    - misunderstanding of the developmental process of youth
  - 3.8.2 the way to go forward
    - moral education has to be based on the understanding of the practical reality
    - moral education conducted on the basis of the students as the subjects of learning
    - human being seen as the actor in two way communication between different actors
    - different models of teaching including: model of theory teaching, collective activity, social skills training, conducting personal life, appreciating various types of emotions, counselling, cultural immersion, self education
- 3.9 trend of reforming ideological education imminent



- 3.9.1 ideological education conducted in the context of the ideas of socialist commodity economics
- 3.9.2 researching on students as the subjects of receiving ideological education
- 3.9.3 self education to be accepted as the major format of ideological education, a growing separation of education and training
- 3.10 a theory of personality development emphasising the uniqueness of individuals
- 3.11 moral education in the socialist primary stage
  - 3.11.1 strengthening moral education is an objective necessity of socialist primary stages
  - 3.11.2 methods including multiple objectives for students of different age group, for different types of students, within the same moral paradigm and different ways to achieving those objectives
- 3.12 the democratisation of moral education
  - 3.12.1 the need for a change of ideas:
    - to recognize students as the subject of education have the right to choose and the rights have to be recognized
    - to respect the personal interest of the students
    - teacher student relations based upon equality
    - teachers must believe in what they are teaching
  - 3.12.2 important consideration
    - to create a democratic educational environment
    - to practice democracy
    - to strengthen the guidance from the teachers
    - to guide the students to conduct self-education
  - 3.12.3 some basic ideas about democratic education
    - socialist democracy different from the anarchist “big democracy”
    - democratisation only an integral part of moral education
    - the teaching of democracy in moral education have to consider whether the situation of the students
- 3.13 the macro environment of political education

3.14 the principle of subjectivity

**4. Teaching method proposed under regulated individualism**

- 4.1 the sequence and organization of content of moral education in accordance with the ages of the students and their ideals
- 4.2 fully understand the use of different techniques in teaching
- 4.3 integration of various bodies teaching moral education
- 4.4 self education, self understanding, self adjustment, self feedback
- 4.5 to create an atmosphere conducive to the development of good environment; to channel public opinion
- 4.6 an emphasis on guidance and advice
- 4.7 an emphasis of practice



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